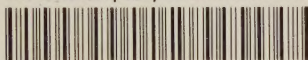


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THE
HISTORICAL POETRY

OF THE
ANCIENT HEBREWS,

TRANSLATED AND CRITICALLY EXAMINED

BY
MICHAEL HEILPRIN.

VOLUME II.

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THE HISTORICAL POETRY

OF THE

ANCIENT HEBREWS.

XXII.

MENTIONS of King David abound in Scriptural poetry. No other mortal's name is similarly glorified in it. Yet even his occurs only incidentally. At some length he is spoken of in two psalms of late origin, the eighty-ninth and one-hundred-thirty-second; but he is the real subject of neither. The theme of the former is the threatening or accomplished downfall of the Judæan throne, involving the tragic fate of one of David's descendants—perhaps Josiah or Zedekiah, more probably Jeconiah; and of the latter, Zion arising from her ruin, and her sacred claim to become again the seat of a powerful Davidic dynasty. In both, the retrospect forms a contrast with the present of the nation, and is to show that the divine blessings vouchsafed Israel in connection with the son of Jesse are still held in abeyance. Both reëcho popular traditions already

embodied in history. The former song paraphrases a part of II. Samuel vii. in the following lines, which are loosely attached to an invocation of the God of Hosts, descriptive of his power, justice, and truth :

(PSALM LXXXIX.)

- (20 [19]) Once thou spokest in a vision to thy saint,¹
 thus : 'I bestow help² upon a hero,
 I exalt a youth out of the people.
 I have found David, my servant ;
 with my holy oil I anoint him.
 My hand shall be firm on him,
 my arm shall give him strength.
 No enemy shall exact of him,
 no son of wickedness oppress him.
 I will crush his foes before him,
 I will rout his assailants.
- (25 [24]) My truth, my mercy, shall be with him ;
 in my name shall his horn be exalted.
 Upon the sea I lay his hand,
 his right arm upon the streams.³
 He calls me : "Thou art my father,
 my God, the rock of my salvation."

¹ *thy saint*] The prophet Nathan is probably meant; see II. Sam. vii., and compare the word *hizzāyōn*, vision, used there (verse 17) with *hūzōn* in the verse before us.

² *help*] Heb. *ēzer*, which, as has been presumed, stands perhaps for *nēzer*, a crown; cf. *nizrō*, his crown, in verse 40 of our psalm and in Ps. cxxxii. 18, and II. Kings xi. 12.

³ *the streams*] 'In the first line, the Euphrates and its canals' (Olshausen).

And I make him my firstborn,
the highest of the kings of the earth.

I keep my mercy for him eternally,
my covenant remains true to him.

(30 [29]) I make his posterity to endure for ever,
his throne as the days of heaven.

If his children forsake my law,
and walk not in my judgments;
if they trample upon my statutes,
and keep not my commandments—

I will punish their transgression with the rod,
their iniquity with inflictions;
but my mercy for him I waste not,
I repudiate not my fidelity;

(35 [34]) I break not my covenant,
nor alter the utterance of my lips.
I have sworn it once in my holy abode—⁴
surely I deceive not David!

His posterity shall endure for ever,
his throne as the sun before me—
firm as the moon for evermore,
that steadfast witness in heaven.’⁶

⁴ *in my holy abode*] Cf. Ps. lx. 8 (6). Others render, *by my holiness*.

⁵ *firm . . . heaven*] According to the Masoretic text. The words *וְעֵד* and *בְּשֶׁחֶק* are, however, very probably corruptions of *וְעֵד* (Olshausen) and *בְּשֶׁחֶק*, the correct sentence running thus: *וְעֵד בְּשֶׁחֶק נָאֻמָּן*, firm as the moon for ever and ever, unshaken as heaven. Cf. ‘as the days of heaven,’ above. Compare also this conclusion with the concluding sentences of Nathan’s communication to David (II. Sam. vii. 16), which contain the perfectly corresponding words *נָאֻמָּן* and *נִבְּוִן*.

The other song, which extols David's zeal in establishing the ark of Jehovah in Zion, and emphasizes the sacredness of both his seat and dynasty, can be given here entire :

(PSALM CXXXII.)

- (1) Remember, O Jehovah, to David
all his pains ;
how he swore to Jehovah,
vowed to Jacob's mighty one :
' Surely I will not enter my dwelling-tent,
nor ascend the bed, my couch,
nor give sleep to my eyes,
nor slumber to my eyelids,
(5) until I find a place for Jehovah,
a habitation for Jacob's mighty one.'
' Lo, we heard of it at Ephratah,
we found it in the forest-fields.^a
Let us go to his habitation,
let us worship at his footstool.
Arise, O Jehovah, to thy resting-place ;
thou, with the ark of thy majesty.

^a *Lo . . . forest-fields*] 'David's words after he had so far attained his wish that the ark had been brought up to Zion. When we were at Ephratah (the old name for Bethlehem)—*i.e.*, in David's youth—we knew of the ark only by hearsay: . . . it was neglected and never visited.' (Fausset.) 'Forest-fields' probably designates the territory of Kirjath-Jearim (forest-city), where the ark was kept after its restoration by the Philistines (I. Sam. vii. 1, 2). There are, however, various other—though hardly any more acceptable—explanations of this verse, based on different meanings applied to the name Ephratah and the term 'forest-fields.'

Let thy priests be robed with salvation,
and thy devout men shout for joy—
(10) for the sake of David, thy servant ;
turn not away the face of thy anointed.*

Jehovah has sworn to David
a true word, from which he turns not back :
'Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne.
If thy sons will observe my covenant,
and the testimony I teach them,
their sons, too, for ever,
shall sit upon thy throne.'

For Jehovah has chosen Zion,
has lovingly made it his abode :
'This is my resting-place for evermore,
here will I dwell, for I love her.
(15) Her provision I will richly bless,
her needy I will satiate with bread ;
her priests I will robe with victory,
her devout men shall shout and shout for joy.
There I will cause David's horn to bud,
there I erect a lamp for my anointed.
His enemies I will clothe with shame,
but on him his crown shall flourish.'

The four lines of this psalm beginning with ' Arise, O Jehovah ' are also contained, almost literally, in the sixth chapter of II. Chronicles,⁷ where they form the concluding portion of Solomon's prayer at the consecration of the temple ; and, according to those

⁷ Verses 41, 42.

critics who⁸ regard the song as a later production even than Chronicles, they may have been borrowed from that book, and quoted as the invocation of David's successor, who executed what his father intended, but was not allowed, to do. But as these words do not appear in the identical Solomonic prayer as given in the much older book of Kings,⁹ they were probably original with the psalmist, and from him cleverly appropriated by the chronicler, a writer of exceedingly lax historical principles, as has been abundantly proved.¹⁰

The psalmist evidently had the narratives of the second book of Samuel¹¹ before him, and him, as a poet, we may, perhaps, excuse for the license with which he made use of his sources. For his picture of David is widely different from the picture exhibited in that history. According to the psalmist, the great king's first care was the establishment of a sanctuary for Jehovah; before achieving that purpose he would not enjoy the innocent comforts of a

⁸ Like Olshausen.

⁹ I. Kings viii.

¹⁰ Lastly, and probably most fully, by Wellhausen, in his 'Geschichte Israels.' The borrowed words serve as a substitute for the concluding sentences of the prayer as given in I. Kings viii., which Chronicles omits, apparently—as Wellhausen (*ibid.*, vol. i. p. 193) sagaciously remarks—in order to get rid of a verse (50) containing an allusion to the captivity, and thus betraying the late manufacture of the whole prayer.

¹¹ Compare chapters vi. and vii.

tent or of a bed. The historian¹² relates the first doings of David, after his election as king over all Israel, in this order: he conquered Zion; he had a palace built to himself; he 'took more concubines and wives.'

While David is thus more favorably treated in poetry than even in history, his son Solomon is a great national hero in the historical narratives of Scripture—besides figuring as an author in spurious superscriptions—but the prophets and psalmists whose writings we possess have not a word to say about him. The halo of wisdom and magnificence which surrounded his name seems to have been less dazzling to the eyes of the pious men of Israel than the stories of his profligacy, tyranny, and idolatrous practices were shocking to their moral instincts. David had toiled, struggled, and conquered, and created a powerful throne and nation: Solomon had only enjoyed and squandered the resources accumulated by his father; his long and peaceful reign had led to the nation's division. It is true, he had built the temple of Zion for Jehovah: but had he not also erected seats of worship 'for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, on the hill before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon,' and gone 'after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites' ?¹³ Wise sayings, teaching frugal ab-

¹² II. Sam. v. 1-14.

¹³ I. Kings xi. 5-7.

stinence, industry, and prudence, were current among the people under the name of 'proverbs of Solomon': but had not his own life been one grand exhibition of unbridled extravagance and lust, of recklessness and folly? Men of the stamp of Amos, Micah, or Isaiah may not have believed, what popular stories related, that Solomon's court tables consumed daily 'ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred sheep, besides harts, and gazelles, and fallow-deer, and fatted fowl';¹⁴ that, in times of profound peace, he had thousands of stalls of horses for his chariots;¹⁵ or that 'he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines'¹⁶—but neither did such men believe in his much-vaunted wisdom and justice, or in the equally vaunted felicity of the people under his sceptre.

A purely worldly—we might say, an epicurean—Solomon is introduced in the Song of Songs, that charming pastoral drama or collection of idyls the authorship and composition of which have been subjected to so many and so diverse efforts of investigation. We see there a king in his circle, and near his throne a damsel as beautiful as his curtains, as

¹⁴ I. Kings v. 2 (iv. 23).

¹⁵ I. Kings v. 6 (iv. 25) has 'forty thousand'; II. Chr. ix. 25, 'four thousand.' The larger number is probably a clerical error, judging by I. Kings x. 26 and the corresponding statement in II. Chr. i. 14, which accord with the smaller number.

¹⁶ I. Kings xi. 3.

the mare harnessed to his Pharaonic chariot,¹⁷ but as pure and chaste as are not his sixty queens, eighty concubines, and maidens without number.¹⁸ Then—

‘Behold, Solomon’s palanquin!
 Sixty heroes surround it,
 of Israel’s heroes ;
 all armed with swords,
 skilled in warfare ;
 each has his sword on his thigh,
 from fear in the night.
 A litter King Solomon has made for himself
 of Lebanon’s wood.
 Its pillars he made of silver,
 its support of gold,
 its seat of purple ;
 its midst is strewn with love
 won from Jerusalem’s daughters.
 Come out, and gaze,
 ye daughters of Zion,
 at Solomon, the king—
 crowned as his mother crowned him
 on the day of his nuptials,
 the day of his heart’s delight.’¹⁹

‘The king possesses a precious vineyard in Baal-Hamon,²⁰ and we read of three of his towers : a

¹⁷ Cant. i. 5, 9, 12.

¹⁸ Cant. vi. 8, 9.

¹⁹ Cant. iii. 7-11.

²⁰ For this unknown name (Cant. viii. 11) Graetz substitutes Baal-Hermon.

tower of ivory,²¹ a tower of Lebanon, looking toward Damascus,²² and

‘the tower of David,
built for trophies;²³
a thousand bucklers are hung on it,
the shields of the heroes all.’²⁴

This last fragment might, perhaps, be deemed a historical reminiscence of King David’s reign—if the Song of Songs contained anything really historical. The fact is, this gem of pastoral poetry is as fanciful throughout as it is fascinating in almost all its parts.

Of Solomon’s successors in the two kingdoms into which his realm was rent on his death, none of the first five who reigned in either—Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, of Judah; Jeroboam I., Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, of Israel—is mentioned by name in a single poetical line of Scripture; unless Joel’s ‘valley of Jehoshaphat,’ in which Jehovah judges (*shāphat*) all nations,²⁵ is not a visionary spot of prophecy, but a real one, called after the king of the same name.

²¹ Cant. vii. 5 (4).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *trophies*] Heb. *talpiyyōth*, an imitation of the Gr. τροπαῖα. (See note A, at the end of the volume.)

²⁴ Cant. iv. 4.

²⁵ Joel iv. (iii.) 2, 12.

XXIIL

THE first rulers of the ten tribes mentioned in a prophetic book are the two next successors of Zimri, Omri and Ahab, father and son, the latter of whom, according to Biblical chronology, ended his career about 900 B.C.¹ They are very severely adverted to in the prophecies ascribed to Micah of Moresheth,² who announced visions ‘concerning Samaria and Jerusalem’ ‘in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,’ all of whom reigned in the latter half of the eighth century B.C. The record of Omri in the book of Kings is brief: He was proclaimed king against the usurper Zimri by the army besieging Gibbethon, and speedily overthrew him, as well as a rival pretender to the throne, Tibni. He built Samaria, and made it the capital instead of Tirzah. In each of these cities he reigned six years. To this is added: ‘But Omri did what was evil in the eyes of Jehovah; he did worse than anyone before him. For he walked in all the way of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and in his sin, wherewith he made Israel to sin,’ etc.³ This sum-

¹ According to Oppert (‘Salomon et ses successeurs’), in 900. See note B, at the end of the volume.

² Mic. i. 1, vi. 16.

³ I. Kings xvi. 15–28.

any statement of the evil done by Omri gives us no insight into the character of his reign, for a more or less identical reference to the practice of idolatry, as sanctioned by Jeroboam—or rather of the worship of Jehovah under the symbol of a bull—is attached by the author or by a redactor of Kings to the record of every successor of Jeroboam, with one or two hardly noticeable exceptions.¹ To the poems Judran who wrote these uniform statements the wickedness of all the kings of the ten tribes was apparent from their failing to suppress what the more enlightened Israelitish spirit of his own time branded as idolatry, and also from the terrible fate which had befallen their throne and people. When he wrote, Israel was lost completely; Judah was still capable of reconstruction. Besides, had not all the kings of Israel been guilty as usurpers? Had not their power originated in criminal secession from Judah, in rebellion against the divinely ordained throne of David? The general stigma of wickedness is thus applied to each monarch separately, not excepting such successful princes as Omri, Joash, or Jeroboam II. That Omri receives even more blame than others may be owing to his having founded a dynasty of which Ahab was the most conspicuous representative. Unfortunately, how-

¹ *Shiloh*, who excepted only one monarch, forms one exception. Cf. *Shiloh* pp. 10-11. *Recherches*, following a nearly identical list, Kings xvii 21.

² Cf. *Recherches* on this subject, p. 10. Cf. Kings xvii 1-21.

ever, the condemnation of Omri is justified by Micah, and that of Jeroboam II. by Amos, a contemporary.*

The sketch of Ahab in Kings is the fullest allotted to any successor of Solomon in either kingdom. And, entwined as it is with the legends of the prophet Elijah the Tishbite, it forms one of the most interesting narratives of the Scriptures. It is the history of a reign, in which three leading characters are depicted with almost equal distinctness: the king, his Phœnician queen, and the prophet. The grand figure of Elijah is drawn in mythical traits, but Ahab and Jezebel, in spite of their connection with him, appear always in a perfectly natural aspect: the king always inclined to magnanimity, but again and again criminal from weakness; the queen remorselessly despotic, cruelly fanatical, and haughty to the bitter end. A portion of their history must be reproduced here, in an abridged form.

Ahab, having married Jezebel, the daughter of a Phœnician king, introduced the worship of the Phœnician Baal, building for him a temple in Samaria, and soon allowed his consort to suppress the worship, and almost entirely to exterminate the prophets, of Jehovah. Among the few who escaped her sword was Elijah, and he profited by a terrible drought, in which the king could not but see a divine infliction, to induce him to change his policy.

* See Am. vii.

A miracle convinced the people that Jehovah was the God, and Baal a powerless idol, and Elijah was allowed to slaughter the prophets who sided with the queen. But the latter vowed bloody vengeance, and Elijah again became a fugitive.*

About this time Ben-Hadad, king of Damascus Syria, marched a powerful army against Ahab, and besieged him in Samaria. He demanded shameful submission, and Ahab resisted. The Syrian made preparations for storming the city. Now an unnamed prophet approached Ahab, and in Jehovah's name predicted the total discomfiture of the Syrian army. 'By whom?' asked Ahab. 'By the young men of the governors of the districts,' was the answer. The king asked again, 'Who shall direct the battle?' 'Thou,' replied the prophet. Ahab numbered the young men, as advised: they were two hundred and thirty two: and, to follow them, he numbered all the people, all the children of Israel, seven thousand men. A sortie was made at noon, when Ben-Hadad and the vassal kings who commanded his troops were drinking themselves drunk in their tents. The sudden attack by the vanguard completely succeeded, and Ben-Hadad fled; 'and the king of Israel went out, and routed the horses and chariots, and inflicted great slaughter on the Syrians.' In the following year Ben Hadad again invaded Ahab's kingdom, but, although his

* 1 Kings xvi-xix.

men filled the land, and the children of Israel 'pitched before them like two little flocks of kids,' this invasion, too, ended most disastrously, and the king of Syria owed his life to the generosity of his enemy.⁸

After these events the following took place: Naboth of Jezreel had a vineyard in that town, hard by the royal palace. The king offered to buy it for a vegetable garden, promising to give for it a better vineyard or its value in money, if desired. But Naboth refused to barter away the inheritance of his fathers. This terribly grieved Ahab; returning to the palace, he lay down on his bed, and turned away his face, and would take no food. Jezebel asked what distracted him, and he told her how he had been mortified. The queen exclaimed, 'Well dost thou bear royal sway over Israel! Get up and eat, and be of good cheer: I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth, the Jezreelite.' She now wrote letters in Ahab's name, sealing them with his seal, to the elders and nobles of Jezreel, and ordered them to assemble the people, and have Naboth falsely accused of blasphemy against God and the king, and stoned to death. The order was executed to the letter, and Jezebel told Ahab that the vineyard which Naboth had refused to give him for money was now king's property. When he went down to take possession of it, Elijah the Tishbite suddenly

⁸ I. Kings xx.

appeared before him, and said, 'Thus thou murderest, and also takest possession? Thus says Jehovah, "At the spot where dogs licked the blood of Naboth dogs shall lick thy blood, too."' And he added, 'Concerning Jezebel, too, Jehovah has spoken thus: "The dogs shall eat Jezebel on the wall-ground' of Jezreel."' On hearing these words Ahab rent his garments, and fasted, and lay in sack-cloth, humbling himself before Jehovah.¹⁰

After three years of peace between Syria and Israel Ahab bethought himself that Ramoth-in-Gilead had not been retaken from the Syrians, and proposed an offensive alliance against them to Jehoshaphat, who had come to see him. The king of Judah cordially declared his readiness to muster his foot and horse, but was anxious to hear the word of Jehovah about the enterprise. Ahab thereupon assembled the prophets, about four hundred men, and inquired whether he should march on Ramoth, or not. Their answer was unanimous: 'March onward! the Lord will give it into the hand of the king.' This answer in the name of 'the Lord'¹¹—by which Baal was perhaps meant—did not satisfy Jehoshaphat, and he asked, 'Is not there a prophet of Jehovah, besides, of whom we might inquire?

¹⁰ *Wall-ground*. Or *place*. Heb. *šāḥ*; this, however, as has been remarked, evidently stands, by mistake, for *šāḥeq*, field-portion. See II. Kings ix. 36. and below.

¹¹ I. Kings xxi.

¹² See the Hebrew text of the narrative.

Ahab said, 'There is yet one man through whom we may inquire of Jehovah, but I hate him; for he prophesies no good concerning me, but evil: it is Micaiah, the son of Imlah.' Yet Jehoshaphat wished to hear him, and he was brought before the two kings, who received him sitting on thrones in the entrance of the gate of Samaria, and surrounded by the prophets. Of these, Zedekiah, the son of Che-naanah, had come with a pair of iron horns, saying, in the name of Jehovah, 'With these thou shalt thrust the Syrians, until thou destroyest them.' And all the others chimed in: 'March on Ramoth-in-Gilead, and succeed! Jehovah will give it into the hand of the king.' Addressed by Ahab, Micaiah ironically repeated the encouraging words of the other prophets, but when pressed for a solemn answer, he said, 'I saw all Israel scattered on the hills, like sheep that have no shepherd; and Jehovah said, "These have no master: let them return each to his house in peace."' And he added, 'Hear the word of Jehovah: I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And Jehovah said, "Who will persuade Ahab, that he may march onward and fall at Ramoth-in-Gilead?"' And one said thus, and another so. Then the spirit¹² stepped forward, and stood before Jehovah, and said, "*I* will persuade him." And Jehovah said to him, "Wherewith?"

¹² *the spirit*] Heb. *hārūā'h*, with the definite article; the spirit of prophecy (Kimhi, Keil, Thenius, and others).

And he said, "I will go forth and be a spirit of falsehood in the mouth of all his prophets." And the reply was, "Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail: go forth and do so." Now behold, Jehovah has put a spirit of falsehood into the mouth of all thy prophets here, and Jehovah has decreed evil concerning thee.' Here Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, approached Micaiah, and struck him on the cheek, saying, 'Which way did Jehovah's spirit go over from me to speak to thee?' And Micaiah answered, 'Thou shalt see it in that day when thou wilt go into the innermost chamber to hide thyself.' Ahab now ordered the keeping of Micaiah in prison till his own return in peace, whereupon the prophet said, 'If thou returnest in peace at all, Jehovah has not spoken through me.' And he added, 'Hear, ye peoples¹³ all.' All this notwithstanding, the march on Ramoth was undertaken by both kings. In the battle which ensued Ahab was wounded, and withdrew to the rear, but remained standing in his chariot, facing the enemy, while his blood flowed from his wound, until, in the evening, he expired. His men now returned to their homes.¹⁴

Of Ahab's two sons and successors, Ahaziah died

¹³ *peoples*] Or, *tribes*. The word can be explained as addressed to Israel and Judah, whose kings were present, and to all other nations, or merely to the tribes of Israel. The rendering of the pl. '*amīm*' by *people* (Ger. *Leute*), which the Authorized Version adopts both here and in the identical phrase in Micah (i. 2), and Thenius here, after Hitzig on Joel ii. 6, is not well supported.

¹⁴ I. Kings xxii.

of a fall through the lattice of his upper chamber, and Joram was overthrown by his own general Jehu. The latter had been secretly anointed king against him by an emissary of the prophet Elisha, upon whom the mantle of Elijah had fallen. He rode with a troop from Ramoth-in-Gilead, where he was one of the commanders against Hazael of Syria, to Jezreel, whither Joram had retired to be healed of wounds received in the war. Joram, surprised by his sudden approach, went out in his chariot to meet him. They met in Naboth's field-portion. Joram exclaimed, 'Is peace with thee, Jehu?' Jehu answered, 'What peace, with the whoredom of Jezebel, thy mother, and her many sorceries?' Joram cried, 'Treachery!' and turned to flee, but it was too late: he was pierced by an arrow from Jehu's own bow. The dead body was cast down upon the field, the regicide three times sententiously alluding to that fatal 'portion.'¹⁵ He now entered Jezreel. When the news reached the old queen, Jezebel, she painted her eyelids, tired her head, and, looking out at the window, cried out to Jehu, as he entered, 'Hail, thou Zimri,¹⁶ murderer of his master!' At his order, she was thrown down; her blood bespattered the wall and the horses, and she was trampled upon. And the dogs devoured her flesh in the field-portion of Jezreel.¹⁷

¹⁵ See his words in the Hebrew text.

¹⁶ Zimri, like Jehu, obtained the throne by assassinating his king, whose general he was.

¹⁷ II. Kings ix.

We are not told what became of the prophet Micaiah, who, alone, so boldly opposed the wish and clamor, and so calmly braved the fury, of so many around him? Did he, in his prison, live to see the day when 'the peoples all' saw that he alone had spoken the truth? Did he live to see the downfall of the house of Omri? Have any of his written prophecies been preserved, if he ever wrote any? There are indications apt to lead to affirmative answers to these questions.

Critical expounders have found many striking points of contact between the narratives of I. Kings abridged above and the book of Micah: The names of the prophet who warned Ahab and of the prophet whose written denunciations of Samaria and Jerusalem we possess are identical, though slightly varied in the termination.¹⁸ The last words of Micaiah, the son of Imlah, are: 'Hear, ye peoples all!'—the book of Micah opens with these very words.¹⁹ The son of Imlah addressed the son of Omri: the book of Micah is the only prophetic writing which mentions Omri and Ahab.²⁰ The son of Imlah contends alone against a host of false

¹⁸ The Ephraimite to whose history the seventeenth chapter of Judges is devoted is, in verses 1 and 4, called Micaiah (in the Hebrew text; in the fullest form, Mikhāy'hū) and in the rest of the narrative Micah. In the *k'thīb* form of Jer. xxvi. 18 Micah of Moresheth is also called Micaiah.

¹⁹ Without the least alteration, in the original.

²⁰ vi. 16.

prophets, who predict success to their king: the third chapter of Micah²¹ announces woe to the prophets who seduce the people and cry, 'Peace,' while they prepare war against him who does not satisfy them. The son of Imlah told Ahab how he was deceived by a spirit of falsehood (*rūa'h sheqer*): in Micah²² the false prophets are stigmatized as going after wind and falsehood (*rūa'h vāsheqer*). The son of Imlah was struck on the cheek by Zedekiah: in Micah²³ we read, 'With a rod they strike on the cheek the guide of Israel.' Zedekiah had made himself iron horns: in Micah²⁴ we read, 'I make thy horn iron.' Even an exceptional verbal form has been noticed which occurs only in the narrative of Ahab and Naboth and in Micah.²⁵ These coincidences are not accidental. But whence do they spring?

This question can be answered in various ways: Micah of Moresheth, the contemporary of Isaiah, had the history of Ahab as given in Kings before him, and, attracted by the account concerning his earlier namesake, made distinct allusions to men and things of that remote time: this is the view of Hitzig, among others. Or, Micah of Moresheth con-

²¹ 5-8.

²² ii. 11.

²³ iv. 14 (v. 1).

²⁴ iv. 13.

²⁵ אֲבִי for אֲבִי, I. Kings xxi. 29 and Mic. i. 15. (See note C, at the end of the volume.)

suborned and presented himself as the continuator of the activity of his namesake: so thinks Keil. Or— if we go a step further—he possessed fragments of the addresses of the son of Isaiah, and applied them, perhaps with alterations, to affairs of his own time: this view finds support in his embodying in his prophecies²⁰ a string of sentences elsewhere²¹ distinctly credited to Isaiah, which either he borrowed from that great contemporary, or both equally from an earlier prophet—for Isaiah can hardly be presumed to have repeated the utterances of a man of his time. A fourth supposition, namely, that writings and fragments of writings belonging to the two Mischahs, or Mischahs, have been mixed up by the collectors of the Scriptures, requires too many violations of the text as it stands to be critically established. In any case, however, we have in the book of Mischah clear references to conditions which existed, or greatly resembled those which existed, in the times of Ahab and the son of Isaiah.

On the supposition that Mischah of Moresheth incorporated or worked up in his book pieces belonging to the son of Isaiah, the latter could thus be reconstructed as a distinct prophet out of fragments of that little work:

The wickedness of the powerful men in Samaria and Jarsel, the oppressors of the people, elicits from him this bitter rebuke:

²⁰ Mic. iv. 1-3.

²¹ Is. ii. 2-4.

(MICAH III. 1-4.)

O hear, ye heads of Jacob,
 rulers of the house of Israel :
 is it not for you to know the right ?
 O ye hater of the good, and lovers of evil,
 who rob men²² of their skin,
 and tear the flesh from their bones ;
 who eat my people's flesh,
 and strip the skin from them,
 and break their bones ;
 and chop all as for a pot,²³
 as meat for a caldron !—
 Once they will cry to Jehovah,
 and he will not answer,
 but hide his face from them at that time,
 in response to their evil doings.

In the following we have before us Ahab coveting the vineyard of Naboth, brooding in his bed, and murdering and taking possession :

(II. 1-3.)

Woe to them who devise iniquity,
 and frame evil, on their beds,
 and do it when the morning dawns—
 for it is in the power of their hand !

²² *men*] Literally, *them*, that is, the people of Israel, as generally explained.

²³ *as for a pot*] Literally, *as what is* (כִּי־עַל־הַכֵּיִס, *in the pot* ; כִּי־עַל־הַכֵּיִס, however, as the Septuagint and the Syrian version indicate, may be a corruption of כֶּסֶף, as flesh. See the context in the original.

They covet fields, and seize them ;
and houses, and take them ;
oppress the man and his house,
the man and his heritage.

Therefore, thus says Jehovah :
' Behold, I devise evil against this race,
from which ye shall not withdraw your necks ;
nor walk ye haughtily,
for it is an evil time.'

The phrase rendered *nor walk ye haughtily* includes the word *rōmāh*, occurring nowhere else, and understood to mean *on high* or *in haughtiness* ; and may thus contain an allusion to the march on Ramoth (*heights*).³⁰—The rebuke is continued thus :

(II. 4, 5.)

In that day
men take up a taunt against you,
and wail a wail of woe,
saying, ' we are wasted, wasted !
my people's portion he gives away !
how he withdraws it from me !'³¹
to the faithless he portions out our fields !'
Thus thou shalt have none
to cast a cord of division
in Jehovah's community.

³⁰ יֵלֵא הָעָלִי רַמֹּת וְלֹא תִלְכוּ רוֹמָה being almost the equivalent of יֵלֵא הָעָלִי רַמֹּת. Ramoth was also called Ramah in the singular; see II. Kings viii. 29, and Josh. xiii. 26.

³¹ וַיִּמָּשׁ, he withdraws, stands perhaps, by mistake, for יָמַר (*cf.* the preceding יָמַר, and יָמַר לִי, Ruth i. 20), in which case the translation of the line would be: *how he afflicts me !*

Here we are forcibly reminded of the ‘portion’ so many times spoken of in the account of Ahab’s outrage and its fatal consequence, the extirpation of his race from Jehovah’s community. It is, however, hard to determine whether the wail is over the tyrant’s wasting, robbing, and portioning out to godless accomplices the substance of the people, or over Jehovah’s retaliation for such crimes, which surrenders his people’s heritage to the plundering heathen.

The true prophet warns Israel and its rulers, but he is insulted and condemned to silence by the false preachers and their followers :

(II. 6-8.)

‘Preach not,’ they preach ;
 ‘they shall not preach to these—
 lest they reach³² disgrace.’

Thou who art called house of Jacob,
 is Jehovah impatient ?
 are his doings such ?

‘Will my words do no good
 to him who walks uprightly ?

‘Yet yesterday
 my people rose as a foe ;³³

³² *reach*] After Rashi, Aben Ezra, and Kimhi. Cf. Prov. ix. 7:
 ‘He who reproves a scorner gets shame.’

³³ *yesterday—foe*] According to the Masoretic text, which is hardly correct. Arnheim (in Zunz’s Bible) renders, *the defender my people sets up as a foe*, reading instead of *ethmûl*, yesterday, *eth mûl*, and apparently taking *mûl* to designate him who is לעם מול האלהים

from the robeless
 ye tear off the mantle :²⁴
 from tranquil passers-by,
 men averse from war.'

The homeless widows and orphans of the murdered and dispossessed are thus remembered :

(II. 9, 10.)

'The women of my people ye expel
 from the houses of their delight ;
 from their infants
 ye take my ornaments, for ever.'
 Rise, and go :
 for this is no resting-place—
 because of defilement,
 which destroys, with terrible destruction.

The prophets to whom the people would listen are men of a different stamp :

(II. 11.)

If a man who walks after word and falsehood
 should lyingly say,
 'I will preach to thee of wine and mead,'
 he would be this people's preacher.

[Ex xviii. 19, perhaps *his robeless* has become an *adjective*. In the following *will* *shall* *לֵאמֹר* is a participle as in Jer. ix. 24 and Josh. v. 5; the meaning is: *cut (shorn) of robe, robeless*.

[*Semantic*] Heb. *adler*, the same as the *adler* of the prophets (I. Kings xix. 18, 19; II. Kings ii. 8, 13, 14, Ezech. xiii. 4). They probably wore no robe under it.

But false prophets like Zedekiah are doomed eventually to hide themselves in shame:

(III. 5-8.)

Thus says Jehovah concerning the prophets
'who lead my people astray,
who, when biting with their teeth, cry, "Peace!"
and when one puts nothing on their mouth,
prepare war against him :
Therefore, night upon you !—not to see visions ;
darkness upon you !—not to divine ;
the sun shall go down over the prophets,
and the day be black over them ;
the seers shall be ashamed,
the diviners shall blush,
and all cover their lips—
for there is no answer of God.'

But *I*, I am full of strength—
by the spirit of Jehovah—
and of judgment and courage,
to declare to Jacob his transgression,
to Israel his sin.

And the man of courage is rudely tried:

(IV. 14 [V. 1].)

With a rod they strike on the cheek
the guide of Israel.

But his supporter is on high; him he calls to
witness to the truth of his words:

(I. 2.)

Hear, ye peoples all ;
listen, O earth, and all that is therein ;
and let the Lord Jehovah be witness against you,
the Lord from his holy temple.³⁵

Persecuted, imprisoned, in darkness and solitude,
the preacher of righteousness mourns over the
perverseness of his time and his own fate, but waits
with resignation for the day which is to justify and
avenge him :

(VII.)

(1) Woe is me !

for I am as in the gathering of summer-fruit,
as in the gleanings of the vintage :
there is not a cluster to eat ;
not an early fig, which I long for.
The last good man is gone from the earth,
no upright mortal exists ;
all lie in wait for blood,
brother hunts brother with a net.
The evil-doer has but hands to soften ;³⁶

³⁵ This verse is, in meaning, unconnected with the rest of the chapter. The preceding quotation is an equally unconnected fragment.

³⁶ *to soften*. Literally, *to make good or pleasant*. He disarms the hands of justice by bribes. Cf. Is. xxxiii. 15: 'who shakes his hands from grasping bribes,' and Ps. xxvi. 10: 'their right hand is full of bribes,' and compare אֲדִישִׁים . . . עַל הָרָע with אֲדִישׁ לְרֵעִי (II. Sam. xviii. 11) and אֲדִישׁ פָּנִים with אֲדִישׁ פָּנִים (Prov. xv. 13).

the governor asks,
 the judge judges for reward,
 and the great man speaks out *his* soul's lust—
 and they twist the thing together.
 The best of them is like a brier,
 the most upright sharper than a thorn-hedge.

The day of thy watchmen,³⁷
 of thy visitation, is coming ;
 men's confusion approaches.

- (5) Trust ye not in a friend,
 confide not in the most intimate ;
 from her who rests on thy bosom
 keep the doors of thy mouth.
 For the son is vile toward his father,
 the daughter rises against her mother,
 the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law ;
 a man's enemies are the men of his own house.

But *I*, I look to Jehovah,
 I wait for the God of my salvation ;
 my God will hear me.
 Rejoice not over me, O woman that hatest me :³⁸
 if I am fallen, I rise again ;
 if I sit in darkness,
 Jehovah is light to me.

Jehovah's wrath I will bear,
 for I have sinned against him—
 until he pleads my cause,
 and secures my right ;

³⁷ The day predicted by prophets.

³⁸ *woman that hatest me*] Heb. *ôyabti* = *inimica mea* (Vulgate),
meine Feindin. In the Authorized Version the gender is lost.

he will bring me forth to light,
I shall behold his victory.³⁹

- (10) She who hates me will see it,
and be covered with shame ;
she who says to me,
'Where is he—Jehovah, thy God ?'
My eyes will gaze at her ;
now she will be trampled upon
as mire in the streets.

The female enemy here addressed and spoken of is generally explained to be a personified, though unmentioned, hostile power—Assyria—and the ultimately triumphant sufferer to represent Zion ;⁴⁰ but, on the supposition that the sufferer sitting in darkness is the son of Imlah in prison, the enemy is none other but Jezebel herself, the deadly foe of the prophets of Jehovah, and the last lines may be considered an addition to the meditation—if the whole is not a retrospect—made when the corpse of the proud queen had actually been trampled upon in the streets of Jezreel.

But if the victim of Jezebel's persecution lived to see her downfall and the havoc which the sword of Jehu made among the followers of Baal, he soon discovered that the regulations of Omri and the practices of the house of Ahab survived the revolution,

³⁹ *his victory*] See vol. i., note G.

⁴⁰ Starting from this view, the Masorites, by their vowel-points, gave a feminine termination to מְלִיכָה, thy God.

and that Samaria and Jezreel continued to be as deserving of chastisement as ever :

(VI.)

- (9) Jehovah's voice calls to the city—
 and wisdom minds thy name.
 Hear ye the rod,
 hear who appoints it.
- (10) Are there yet in the house of the wicked
 treasures of wickedness,
 and the lean, accursed bushel ?
 Can I⁴¹ be pure with wicked scales ?
 with a bag of deceitful weights ?
 Her rich men are gorged with plunder,
 her denizens speak falsehood ;
 their tongue in their mouth is deceit.
 'Therefore I make thee sick with my blows,
 desolating thee for thy sins.
 Thou eatest, and art not satisfied,
 thy emptiness remaining in thee ;
 thou snatchest, but savest not,
 and what thou savest I give to the sword ;
- (15) thou sowest, but reapest not ;
 thou treadest olives, but hast no oil for ointment ;
 treadest grapes, but drinkest no wine.
 Omri's statutes are kept,
 and all the practices of Ahab's house,
 and after their counsels ye walk.

⁴¹ *Can I . . . ?*] Can I? can anyone?

Lo, I make thee⁴² a desolation,
and her inhabitants a hissing,
and ye bear my people's⁴³ reproach.'

There are a few more lines which, on the basis of the same hypothesis, might be regarded as belonging to the son of Imlah, and as referring to that better time of Ahab's reign, previous to the murder of Naboth, when prophets of Jehovah still approached the king with true predictions of victory. In the following we have, perhaps, a reference to Ben-Hadad's siege of Samaria:

(IV. 14 [V. 1].)

Now band thyself in bands,
O daughter of bands—
he lays siege upon us.

The 'daughter of bands,'—*bath g'dūd*—is a fitting term for Ben-Hadad's kingdom, Syria, of whose raiding bands—*g'dūdīm*—we repeatedly read in the accounts of the time;⁴⁴ and the term may even allude, both in meaning and sound, to the name of that Syrian king, 'the son of Hadad.' This little

⁴² *thee*] So according to the Masoretic text, but אַרְצָךְ, thee, stands evidently, by mistake, for אֶרֶץְךָ, thy land, to which the following 'her' refers; 'the land,' 'a desolation,' and 'her inhabitants' are exactly so connected in verse 13 of the following chapter.

⁴³ *my people's*] Heb. 'ammī; Graetz ('Geschichte der Juden,' vol. i. part i. p. 156) converts this into 'ammīm, the peoples' Cf. Neh. v. 9, and Ezek. xxxvi. 15.

⁴⁴ II. Kings v. 2, vi. 23.

fragment is unconnected in the text, though joined in one verse to an equally small fragment, already quoted. Equally unconnected are the following lines, which describe, perhaps, the successful sortie against Ben-Hadad's camp, at the time when 'all the people,' the remnant of Israel, mustered by Ahab, must have been, compared with the hosts of the Syrians, like 'little flocks of kids,' as in the succeeding year :

(II. 12, 13.)

'I do collect, O Jacob, all of thee ;
I gather together the remnant of Israel ;
I put them together as sheep in a fold ;
like a flock's, in the midst of its pasture,
is the hum of men.'

The breaker-through marches before them,
they break through and pass—
through the gate, and out by it ;
the king passes before them,
Jehovah at their head.

XXIV.

THE hostility between the Israelites and Damascene Syria was of old standing. When David warred with Hadadezer, king of Zobah in the Euphrates regions, the Syrians of Damascus came to succor the latter, but were totally vanquished, and subjected to the Hebrew kingdom. Subsequently, however, a leader of a band, Rezon, made himself master of Damascus, reigned as king, and was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon. One of his successors, Ben-Hadad I.—in Biblical order—was bribed by Asa, king of Judah, to break his peace with Baasha of Israel, and made a powerful invasion into the northern territories of the ten tribes. Ben-Hadad II. fought against Ahab. He also made war on Joram, Ahab's son, and again vainly besieged Samaria. His murderer and successor, Hazael, not only successfully resisted an alliance of Joram with Ahaziah of Judah, but, continuing his hostilities against the successors of both Hebrew kings, conquered all Transjordanic Palestine from Jehu, threatened Jerusalem and extorted a heavy ransom from Ahaziah's son Joash, and brought the kingdom of the ten tribes, under Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, to the very verge of destruction. Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, however, three times defeated Hazael's son Ben-Hadad III.,

and recovered a portion of the Israelitish territory, and his son Jeroboam II. reconquered the rest, triumphantly extending his power to the north and east. Some of these wars and invasions were carried on with utmost fierceness.¹

Equally fierce were, during the same centuries, the contests between the Israelites and the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites. David terribly chastised Rabbah and the other cities of Ammon for an offense of their king Hanun, but the country seems not to have been held in subjection for any length of time. After the division of the Hebrew kingdom the Ammonites made inroads into the territories both of Judah and Israel.² Moab was almost annihilated by David, and in later times paid an enormous tribute to the kingdom of the ten tribes; but on the death of Ahab it revolted under King Mesha, and desperately defended itself against Joram and his ally, the king of Judah. In the time of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, the Moabites made yearly incursions into Israelitish territory.³ Against Edom, too, David carried on a war of extermination. He completely subdued it, and though Hadad, an Edomite prince who escaped to Egypt, raised a revolt on the death of the conqueror, which annoyed Solomon, the

¹ II. Sam. viii. 5, 6; I. Kings xi. 23-25, xv. 19, 20, xx., xxii.; II. Kings vi. 24-vii. 7, viii. 25-29, x. 32, 33, xii. 18, 19 (17, 18), xiii. 3-7, 22-25, xiv. 23-29.

² II. Sam. x., xii. 26-31, II. Chr. xx. 1, Am. i. 13.

³ II. Sam. viii. 2, II. Kings iii., xiii. 20.

Judeans remained masters in Seir, holding it in subjection or vassalage till the reign of Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram, when the foreign yoke was broken, and an independent native throne established. But some sixty years later Amaziah began the reconquest of Edom, and his son Uzziah continued it.⁴

Amaziah's exploit is thus told in the second book of Kings: 'He defeated the Edomites in the Salt Valley, slaying ten thousand, and reduced Sela [that is, Petra] by fighting.'⁵ Not satisfied with this victory and capture achieved by the king of Judah, the author of Chronicles makes, in his version, a characteristic application of the meaning of the name Sela (*rock*): with the definite article, as in the narrative of Kings, *the rock*).⁶ He relates:⁶ 'And Amaziah, mustering strength, led his people, and marched to the Salt Valley, and defeated the children of Seir, slaying ten thousand. Other ten thousand the children of Judah captured alive, and took them to the top of the rock, and dashed them down from the top of the rock, so that all were broken in pieces.' Thus the glory of dashing to pieces ten thousand Edomite captives is substituted

⁴ II. Sam. viii. 13, 14: I. Kings xi. 14-22, xxii. 48 (47): II. Kings viii. 20-22, xiv. 7, 22.

⁵ This is also the meaning, both in Greek and Latin, of Petra, the classical name of the Idumean stronghold. According to Wetzstein (in a dissertation supplementary to Delitzsch's 'Commentary on Isaiah,' third edition) the name was originally the Bozrah of the Sela, signifying *the fortress of the cleft in the rocks*.

⁶ II. Chr. xxv. 11.

for the capture of a rock fastness and capital deemed impregnable, probably the grandest feat in the military history of the Hebrews. The same author⁷ makes David take out the inhabitants of all the towns of Ammon and saw them with saws or destroy them with other iron implements; while the corresponding statement in the second book of Samuel⁸—unless violently twisted, as it commonly is, after Chronicles—indicates an incomparably milder treatment of the conquered populations.⁹ David may charitably be presumed to be as guiltless of the monstrous atrocity attributed to him, even if it be attributed to him by both historians, as Amaziah probably was of the spectacular execution of the ten thousand at Petra; and it is quite a superfluous labor—though often undertaken—to search for

⁷ I. Chr. xx. 3.

⁸ xii. 31.

⁹ The words in the two texts are obscure, but unless the Chronicler's *vayyāsar*, and sawed, is substituted for *vayyāsem*, and placed, in Samuel, the meaning of the older text can be no other than that David carried off the Ammonites and made them work in his saw mills, iron mines, and brick-kilns, or in similar establishments. (See, among others, Graetz, 'Geschichte der Juden,' vol. i. p. 256.) But the mere change of the word does not make the commonly adopted rendering acceptable, for the verb 'sawed' is applicable only to the first of the murderous instruments believed to be mentioned, unless saws and iron saws are separately spoken of; nor is it clear why the Ammonites had to be taken out of their cities, or why they had to be carried through brick-kilns in order to be burned. (Graetz strengthens his rendering by substituting והעביר, and made [them] work, for והעביר, and made [them] pass.)

benevolent reasons which might have induced the model king to commit his people-sawings. If it was his object, as some suggest, to teach the Ammonites, by impressive examples, what they ought not to practise, lessons on a smaller scale, applied to the leaders instead of to whole populations, would have sufficed. For many a deed which makes the readers of history shudder the narrator alone is responsible.

The wars between the Hebrews and the Philistines are entirely free from such revolting features, and in some instances they even present traits of contention in a chivalrous spirit. David repeatedly vanquished the Philistines, but did not subdue them.¹⁰ Solomon's empire extended from the Euphrates 'to the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt,'¹¹ but it included neither of these countries. During his reign we find a king of Gath,¹² while neither the conquest nor the revolt of any other Philistine city is related in the history of those times.¹³ And shortly after the division of the

¹⁰ II. Sam. v. 17-25, viii. 1, xxi. 15-22. II. Sam. viii. 1, as its concluding part shows, states a decisive victory over them, but not their subjection.

¹¹ I. Kings v. 1 (iv. 21).

¹² I. Kings ii. 39.

¹³ Gath, however, is stated in I. Chronicles (xviii. 1) to have been taken by David; but the statement is totally invalidated by the corresponding sentence in II. Samuel (viii. 1). Equally inauthentic is probably the mention of Gath, in II. Chronicles (xi. 8), among the cities fortified by Rehoboam, after which it next appears in the same

Hebrew kingdom, we see the Philistines holding a fortified town, Gibbethon, in the territory of the ten tribes, and defending it against Nadab and his successors.¹⁴ Weakened by the sword of David, and probably harassed by the Egyptian navy, the Philistines no longer thought of renewing their supremacy over the interior of Palestine, and the Hebrews, divided among themselves, made no vigorous effort to conquer the Philistine coastland. This state of affairs, however, would not prevent occasional border warfare and predatory incursions. Between the cities of the Phœnician coastland — Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, Byblus — and the Hebrew states peace and commercial intercourse were permanent.

Of the contests between Mesha, king of Moab, and his Hebrew neighbors there is an account by himself, in an inscription on a monumental stone discovered at Diban¹⁵ in 1868, and deciphered from impressions — for the stone was broken before it could be acquired — by a number of investigators, French, German, and English. The inscription was apparently engraved shortly after the Moabite king had shaken off the yoke of the kingdom of Israel, on Ahab's fall at Ramoth. The decipherment is incomplete, as the impressions were,

book (xxvi. 6) as a city warred against and conquered by another king of Judah, and in Amos (vi. 2) as a city of the Philistines.

¹⁴ I. Kings xv. 27, xvi. 15.

¹⁵ The Scriptural Diban; see vol. i. p. 75.

and in many points conjectural and doubtful. The following sentences and parts of sentences are the principal ones on which three, at least, out of four of the ablest expounders—Schlottmann, Nöldeke, Kaempf, and M. A. Levy—are fully in accord:¹⁶

‘I, Mesha, son of king of Moab, the Dibonite: My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I have made this high-place to Chemosh,¹⁷ for he saved me from all. . . .

‘Omri, king of Israel, oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was wroth against his land. His son succeeded him, and he, too, said, “I will oppress Moab.” . . . But I had my sight in him and his house, and Israel perishes for ever.

‘Omri conquered Medeba,¹⁸ and dwelt in it, he and his son, forty years. But Chemosh in my days. . . .

‘I built up Baal-Meon,¹⁹ and Kir-

¹⁶ Of other writers on the subject may be mentioned: Clermont-Ganneau—of the French consulate at Jerusalem, who procured the impressions, the stone having been discovered by the missionary Klein—the Count de Vogüé, Capt. Warren, Derenbourg, A. Geiger, G. Rawlinson, Neubauer, Oppert, Renan, Schrader, Hitzig, Ginsburg, Harkavy, and Graetz. The genuineness of the inscription is all but universally conceded.

¹⁷ *Chemosh*] The god; see vol. i. p. 74.

¹⁸ See vol. i. p. 75.

¹⁹ *Baal-Meon*] Or Beth-Meon, fully Beth Baal-Meon, a town near Medeba, vast ruins of which are at Main, on a height north of the Wady Zerka Main. (See Tristram. ‘The Land of Moab,’ ch. xvi.)

jathaim.²⁰ The men of Gad (lived) in the district . . . from the days of old. . . . And I fought against . . . and captured it, and slew all . . . , a delightful sight to Chemosh and Moab. . . .

‘Chemosh said to me, “Go, and take Nebo²¹ from Israel.” I went in the night, and fought against it from dawn to mid-day, and captured it, and slew all, seven thousand; . . . for it was doomed to Ashtor-Chemosh.²² . . . And I took from there the vessels of Jehovah, and laid them before Chemosh.

‘And the king of Israel built up Jahaz,²³ and dwelt in it, while warring against me; but Chemosh drove him out before me. I took from Moab two hundred men, all chiefs, and led them against Jahaz, and captured it, in addition to Dibon.

‘I built up Qorhah,²⁴ the wall of the forest region, and the wall. . . . And I built its gates, and I built its

²⁰ A town identified by Porter and others with the ruins at the present Kureiyat, south of Jebel Attarus, south by west of Main. Tristram doubts whether Kureiyat answers to Kirjathaim or to Kerieth, Kureitun near Kerak, as he believes, answering to one of these towns.

²¹ There was, according to Eusebius and Jerome, a town Nebo—distinct and distant from the mountain of the same name (see vol. i. p. 73)—eight miles south of Heshbon (see vol. i. p. 74). It is the Nebo of Num. xxxii. 38, and of I. Chr. v. 8.

²² The surname Ashtor characterizes Chemosh as the god of war (Schlottmann).

²³ See vol. i. p. 73.

²⁴ *Qorhah*] According to various expositions, either another name for Dibon or the name of a suburb of it, or of one of the plains of Moab.

towers, and I built its royal palace, and I erected the water-reservoirs in the midst of the city. There was no cistern within the city in Qorhah; so I said to all the people, "Make each of you a cistern in his house." . . .

'I built up Aroer,²⁵ and I constructed the road on the Arnon. I rebuilt Beth-Bamoth,²⁶ for it was destroyed. I built up Bezer.²⁷ . . . I built up . . . Beth-Dib-lathaim²⁸ and Beth-Baal-Meon. . . .

'Chemosh said to me, "Go, and make war on Horonaim."²⁹ . . . And I . . . Chemosh in my days. . . .'

Thus boasted the king of Moab, before the independence of his country was fully secured. The history of the severest struggle which he had to go through is given in the following Israelitish account³⁰—here abridged—in which real facts and a popular story of a prophet are blended together in the fascinating way so characteristic of the book of Kings:

Mesha, king of Moab, was a sheep-master, and

²⁵ A town near the north bank of the Arnon (see vol. i. p. 70), ruins of which are at Arair, or Araar (Tristram), south of Diban.

²⁶ Supposed to be identical with the Scriptural Bamoth; see vol. i. p. 73.

²⁷ A place north of the Arnon, identified by recent travellers with the present Kesur el-Besheir, south-west of Diban.

²⁸ Probably identical with Almon-Diblathaim (Num. xxxiii. 46), a place north of the Arnon.

²⁹ A town of southern Moab. (See Is. xv. 5, and Jer. xlviii. 34.)

³⁰ II. Kings iii.

rendered to the king of Israel a hundred thousand fattened lambs, and a hundred thousand rams with the wool. But on Ahab's death he rebelled. Joram thereupon went out of Samaria, and mustered all Israel. But he also sent this message to Jehoshaphat: 'The king of Moab has rebelled against me: wilt thou march with me against Moab, to war?' The king of Judah answered: 'I will march; it is all the same: I or thou; my people or thine; my horses or thine.' Joram asked, 'Which way shall we march?' And Jehoshaphat replied, 'By the way of the wilderness of Edom.' So the kings of Israel and Judah, and with them the king of Edom, started, and marched seven days, by a circuitous route, but then found no water for either men or beasts. The king of Israel despaired, but Jehoshaphat asked for a prophet by whom to inquire of Jehovah. Elisha, the disciple of Elijah, was found, and the three kings went to see him. The prophet, after rudely addressing the king of Israel, and expressing his regard for Jehoshaphat, said, 'Bring me a minstrel,' and when the minstrel played the power of Jehovah was upon him. And he said, 'Thus says Jehovah: "Make this valley full of cisterns." For thus says Jehovah: "Ye shall see neither wind nor rain, yet this valley shall be filled with water, that ye may drink—ye, your cattle, and your beasts." And this is but a light thing in Jehovah's sight: he will also deliver the Moabites into your hand. And ye shall smite every fortified

city, and every choice city, and fell every fine tree, and stop all wells of water, and mar every good piece of land with stones.' Whereupon, in the morning, there came water from the side of Edom, and the country was filled with it. Now the Moabites, having collected as one man on hearing of the approach of the kings to fight against them, stood there on the border, and when they rose, early in the morning, the sun shining upon the water, the water, at a distance, appeared to them as red as blood. And they said, 'This is blood! surely, the kings are destroyed; they have beaten each other: now for the booty, O Moab!' And they came to the camp of Israel; but then the Israelites rose and beat the Moabites, so that they fled before them, and they went on beating them. And the cities they pulled down, and upon every good field each cast a stone, so that they covered it; and every well of water they stopped, and every fine tree they felled; and thus only the stones in Kir-Hareseth were left, but even that the slingers surrounded and smote. And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too heavy for him, he took with him seven hundred men, armed with drawn swords, to break through to the king of Edom; but they could not. 'Then he took his eldest son, who was to reign in his stead, and offered him as a burnt-offering on the wall; whereupon there was great exasperation against Israel, and they departed from him, and returned home.'

The purely historical import of the narrative seems to be this: The kings of Israel and Judah marched to the southern shore of the Dead Sea, where the king of Edom—a vassal, or rather royal lieutenant, of Jehoshaphat³¹—joined them with his force. Thence they advanced to the border of Moab unopposed, but, after a long march through a country scorched by unusual heat, they found King Mesha occupying a strong position on hills lining a deep dried-up wady, and, unable to force him to accept battle, they saw their supplies melting away, and their men and beasts perishing with thirst. Joram, despairing of success, was ready to withdraw, but Jehoshaphat, perhaps really encouraged by Elisha, persevered, and the rashness of the enemy justified his course. For the Moabites abandoned their defensive attitude, and at day-break descended to the bottom of the valley to assail the camp of the invaders. They possibly reckoned on dissensions, reported by deserters, between the three kings, and on the treachery of the Edomites. The assault, as natural under the circumstances, considering position and numbers, proved a disastrous failure. The remnants of Mesha's army fled in every direction, and the invaders spread over the uncovered country, destroying and ravaging. Kir-Hareseth alone—a fortress generally identified both with the Scriptural Kir-Moab and the present

³¹ I. Kings xxii. 48 (47) says in reference to the reign of Jehoshaphat, 'There was then no king in Edom: a prefect was king.'

Kerak, in the extreme south of ancient Moab—was enabled by its position and strong walls to offer a protracted resistance. But this stronghold was commanded by heights, from which the slingers of the besiegers hurled destructive volleys upon the defenders. Only the stones of Kir-Hareseth were left. Mesha made a desperate attempt to break through, with a chosen band, on the side of the Edomites, perhaps with the hope that their king might still betray the cause of the hated Hebrews. Baffled in this sally, he returned to the city, and, in his agony, sacrificed to his god Chemosh 'his eldest son'—his own, or, as some explain the text, the king of Edom's, captured during the struggle.³² This deed of savage bigotry or revenge exasperated the Moabites to fury, or the Edomites to disaffection, and the siege was abandoned.

These events, whatever their precise character may have been, are probably the theme of the elegy on Moab contained in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Isaiah, to which the prophet of that name added a short epilogue,³³ beginning thus: 'This is the word which Jehovah spoke against Moab long ago, and now Jehovah speaks this.' That Isaiah himself was not the author of the elegy has been fully, and easily, established, chiefly by the archaic and otherwise peculiar forms of expres-

³² This view is based on Amos's execrating Moab 'for burning the bones of Edom's king' (Am. ii. 1).

³³ xvi. 13, 14.

sion in which it abounds; so that Knobel, after exhibiting its various features,³⁴ justly remarks, 'In a word, the piece is so peculiar, through and through, that nothing else in the Old Testament can be the production of the same author. . . . Its whole character is antique.' And it cannot be explained as lamenting, with more or less unmixed irony, the sufferings of Moab when Hazael of Syria conquered the lands north of the Arnon;³⁵ for it begins with bewailing Ar-Moab and Kir-Moab, cities situated south of that river, and, besides, that was an occasion to weep for Israel, not for Moab. Nor can its theme be—as many expounders maintain—the fall of Moab when Jeroboam II. reconquered from the Syrians the lands east of the Jordan;³⁶ for his reconquest extended only 'to the Sea of the Steppe' (the Dead Sea),³⁷ and, had he conquered

³⁴ See note D, at the end of the volume.

³⁵ II. Kings x. 32, 33.

³⁶ II. Kings xiv. 25.

³⁷ On this point Schlottmann (article 'Moab' in Riehm's 'Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums') remarks: 'Die gewöhnliche Ansicht . . . , dass er Moab wieder unterworfen habe, dürfte auf unzureichenden Schlüssen beruhen. Als die südlichste der von ihm hergestellten Grenzen wird das Meer der Araba, . . . d. i. das Todte Meer genannt. Dem entspricht Am. 6, 14 der Bach der Araba . . . , den manche mit dem Bach 'arâbhîm identificiren, wogegen aber Gesenius (*thes.* 1065 *b*) mit Recht geltend gemacht hat, dass an jenen beiden Stellen die Nordseite des Todten Meeres als Grenze bezeichnet sein muss. Dort ist auch der Bach der Araba zu suchen (viell. der *Wadi Chasbân* oder *W. es-Surweime*). Die alte Grenze des ostjordanischen Israel war der Arnon: wenn der 2. Kön.

Moab, too, he could not have begun his work at the wrong end of the country, leaving Dibon, and Nebo, and Medeba, near his border, to pray and cry on heights, streets, and house-tops, as we read. Nor can it be explained by an Assyrian invasion, for no such invasion is anywhere recorded, and not the faintest allusion to Assyria is discoverable in the piece; nor by a sudden irruption of desert tribes, for such invaders would never have achieved the great things lamented over, and laid the proudest cities of Moab low 'in a night.' On the other hand, not much critical license is required to explain away all that seemingly opposes our reading the elegy by the light of the historical narratives given above, while striking coincidences in names, expressions, and circumstances strongly plead for such a proceeding. Let us assume that the elegy was composed in parts, as its form shows—by a prophet of Jehovah, Elisha or another, who accompanied the camp of the invaders, and whose sympathies were all on the side of the king of Judah; and that it was completed shortly after Mesha's useless sally, when the Moabite cause was the most desperate. And let us image to ourselves, as we reasonably may, the condition of Moab after

13, 20 [14. 25 ?] nicht genannt wird, so weist dies darauf hin, dass Jerobeam II. den Moabitern ihr nördlich vom Arnon erobertes Land lassen musste.' In any case, all that is claimed for Jeroboam II. is that he 'restored' the ancient border of Israel, not that he achieved conquests beyond it, south of the Arnon.

Mesha's first defeat to have been as follows : The news of that terrible defeat, running like wild-fire over all the land, at a moment when the people confidently expected an announcement of the surrender of the starved invaders on the banks of the border wady, everywhere spread consternation and dismay. Moab was ruined by a single disaster, which it rushed into 'in a night' of hope, followed by a fatal daybreak. The wady, parched up the evening before, was at sunrise flooded with the best blood of the country's defenders. The rest of 'Moab's armed men' were scattered to all the winds, terror-stricken and shrieking. The open towns and villages, the unwall'd suburbs of the fortresses, were at the mercy of pillagers. The king was shut up in a solitary stronghold. In the cities of the north, more remote from the scene of the disaster, the people cried and prayed in bewilderment. The unprotected people of the south sought refuge in caverns and among rocks on the border of the desert, or among the reedy marshes and canebreaks of the shores of the Dead Sea. The banks of the Arnon swarmed with fugitives. The best-sheltered wadys were encumbered with goods carried off in the flight. The consequences of the drought to which the invaders had nearly succumbed added to the horrors of the homeless. Some of these would even cross the Dead Sea, and implore the protection of Zion against the king of Samaria, extolling the mercy of Jehoshaphat, and renouncing

allegiance to their tyrant Mesha and his cruel god. Mourning, instead of the former mirth, reigned in all the cities, in the fields and vineyards, of Moab, from Horonaim and Kir-Hareseth in the south to Heshbon and Elealeh in the furthest north. Kir-Hareseth still held out, but Mesha's strength was ebbing away, and his last hope was Chemosh.

Such ought to have been the condition of Moab in those days according to the narrative in Kings, and such a picture is reflected in the elegy reproduced and supplemented by Isaiah, a poem of great strength and vividness, and abounding in allusions and plays upon words, some pronounced and marked, and others almost hidden.³⁸

Here follows its first section :

(ISAIAH XV.)

- (1) Yea, Ar-Moab³⁹ made desolate in a night,
 struck dumb !
 yea, Kir-Moab⁴⁰ made desolate in a night,
 struck dumb !

³⁸ Naturally only a few can be rendered in the translation without sacrificing sense to sound. Thus in the original the syllables *ba*, *bôn*, *bā*, *be*, *lā*, *bā*, and *āb* are grouped in half a verse (xv. 2), and *agl*, *yil*, *il*, and *yil* in another half-verse (xv. 8). Few sentences, if any, have suffered by this or a similarly playful grouping of sounds or words. It would be useless to point out every play of words in a note.

³⁹ The ancient capital of Moab; see vol. i. p. 71.

⁴⁰ 'The fortress of Moab,' as in the Chaldee version: *K'rakkā d'mōāb*—in Moabitish perhaps 'the city of Moab,' as appears from

Bajith⁴¹ and Dibon ascend the high-places to weep ;
 on Nebo's heights,⁴² on Medeba's, Moab wails ;
 on all heads baldness,⁴³

Mesha's inscription—the present Kerak, the capital of the district of the same name, less than ten miles from the south-east shore of the Dead Sea. It is even now a remarkable stronghold. 'Its position,' says Tristram, 'is so strong by nature that it would be seized upon as a fortress from the very earliest times. A lofty brow pushes forward to the west with a flattened space on its crest, a sort of head, behind which the neck at the south-east contracts, and gives it the form of a peninsula, at the same time that the isthmus, if I may so call it, rapidly slopes down before rising to reunite to its shoulder the yet loftier hill to the east. The platform of Kerak stands 3,720 feet above the sea level; yet on all sides it is commanded, some of the neighboring heights being over 4,050 feet (barometric). It is, however, severed everywhere, excepting at the neck, and also in a less degree at the north-west angle, from the encircling range. Two deep wadys, from 1,000 to 1,350 feet deep, with steeply scarped or else rugged sides, flank it north and south, the Wady Hammad to the south, and Wady Kerak to the north, which unite about a mile to the west of the city. . . . The escarpment of the third side of the triangle is formed by the Wady Kobeisheh, which, starting from the depression which I have called the neck, rapidly descends to the Wady Kerak.'

⁴¹ In Hebrew, with the article, *habbayith*, the house, place, or temple, probably the foremost of the various places in Moab of the names of which *bayith* (*bēth*) formed the first part; presumably Beth-Baal-Meon, called also Beth-Meon and Baal-Meon (see above, note 19)—which, as the name indicates, contained a sanctuary of Baal—or Beth-Bamoth, 'the place of heights,' which Mesha rebuilt, according to his inscription.

⁴² In the original, *on Nebo*; the town, not the mountain, of that name seems to be meant, as the following, 'on Medeba,' indicates.

⁴³ *baldness*] Heb. *qor'hāh*. Nägelsbach finds in this word a derisive allusion to the Qorhah (קֶרְחָה) of the Moabite stone, in

every beard is cut ;
 in the streets they wear sackcloth,
 on house-tops and broad places the whole people wails,
 melting away in tears.
 Heshbon cries out, and Elealeh ;⁴⁴
 as far as Jahaz their howling is heard.
 And Moab's armed men shriek,
 his soul shrinks.

- (5) My heart cries out for Moab,
 whose fugitives flee as far as Zoar⁴⁵—
 that three-year-old heifer.⁴⁶
 For the slope of Luhith⁴⁷
 they ascend with weeping ;

which King Mesha appears to have had a royal residence: 'if all heads are bald, then, of course, baldness (מלכות) reigns over Moab.'

⁴⁴ A place situated a little more than a mile north by east of Heshbon; its extensive ruins bear the name of El-Ahl.

⁴⁵ Flee to the very shores of the Dead Sea. There is, perhaps, an allusion here to the flight of Lot, the ancestor of Moab, to Zoar, when the surrounding country suffered total destruction (Gen. xix).

⁴⁶ This term 'is either in apposition to Zoar or to Moab. In the former case it is a distinguishing epithet.' Either 'Moab is called *juvenca tertii anni, h.e., indomita jugoque non assucta*, as a nation that was still in the vigor of youth, and if it had hitherto borne the yoke, had always shaken it off again,' or 'Zoar, the fine, strong, and hitherto unconquered city, is now the destination of a most wild flight before the foe' (Delitzsch). Gesenius—who favors the former view—quotes from Pliny, '*Domitura boun in trimatu, postea sera, antea praematura.*'

⁴⁷ A place known to Eusebius and Jerome, between Ar-Moab and Zoar.⁴⁸ Whether the name Luhith—in Heb., with the article, *hallū'hith*—be derived from *lū'a'h*, tablet, or from *lē'a'h*, moisture, freshness (*cf.* the Talmudical *lī'hilū'hith*), there seems to be in 'weep-

for on the road to Horonaim⁴⁸
 they raise a cry of disaster ;
 for the Waters of Nimrim⁴⁹
 are now desolate ;
 for the grass is dried up,
 the young herb has vanished,
 the green is no more.
 Therefore the remnant saved, their stores,
 they carry to the Willow-Brook.⁵⁰
 For the cry goes around
 all the border of Moab ;
 as far as Eglaim⁵¹ the wailing goes,
 as far as Beer-Elim⁵² the wailing.

ing' an allusion to the meaning of its root, which, signifying 'to be fresh, to be moist, . . . properly to shine, . . .' is used in Arabic also 'of the dripping of tears' (Mühlau and Volck's Gesenius, s. v. *lā'ha'h*).

⁴⁸ A descending road (see Jer. xlviii. 5), probably in opposite direction to the road ascending to Luhith.

⁴⁹ Identified by Palmer and Tristram with the Wady Nemeirah, flowing into the Dead Sea through the south-west portion of Moab.

⁵⁰ Heb. *na'hal hā'ārābīm*, identified by Delitzsch with the Wady Safsaf (Willow Brook), the northern branch of the Wady Kerak, on which Kir-Moab was situated. That wady was noted by Irby and Mangles, and also pointed out to Tristram. As to the identification of the *na'hal hā'ārābīm* with the *na'hal hā'ārābāh* of Am. vi. 14, see above, note 37.

⁵¹ Heb. *eglayim*, perhaps identical with En-Eglaim ('ēn 'eglayim), at the south end of the Dead Sea (Ezek. xlvii. 10), 'or more probably with the Ἀγαλλεῖμ of Eusebius, which he locates eight Roman miles south of Areopolis,' or Ar-Moab (Gesenius), or with both (Delitzsch).

⁵² Probably the Beer of Num. xxi. 16-18 (see vol. i. pp. 71, 72), a

For Dimon's flow⁵³ is a flood of blood:
 I make additions to Dimon.
 A lion upon the survivors of Moab,
 upon the remnant of the land!

The second section introduces the fugitives, praying for protection, and offering submission to the throne of Judah, an offer which is contemptuously refused:

locality in the north-east of Moab, perhaps at a point diametrically opposite to Eglaim in the extreme south-west.

⁵³ Heb. *mē dīmōn*, the waters of Dimon, probably a brook which flowed past Madmen, a Moabite town mentioned in Jer. xlviii. 2, and alluded to in Is. xxv. 10, if not mentioned there too in the original *b'mē madmīnāh*, which the Masorites have changed into *b'mō madmīnāh*. Madmen answers, perhaps, to *mī dīmōn*, as Medeba to *mē d'bā* ('tranquil waters,' Gesenius). The name Dimon, formed like Dibon (from *dāb*, not from *dāban*), and in the verse before us brought into a play upon words with *dām*, blood (cf. *dīnkhem*, your blood), may have been given the wady on account of the reddish color of its bottom, which gave a bloody appearance to its waters; and if the fighting between Mesha and the three kings took place on that wady, the story of II. Kings iii. about the fatal delusion of the Moabites could be explained either as founded on a fact or as evolved, in a poetical legend, out of a natural possibility. It also deserves notice that at the end of our verse there is in *ādāmāh* a playful allusion to red, blood, and Dimon (*ādōm*, *dām*, *dīmōn*), and, perhaps, another allusion to the bloody Dimon and the additions of blood to it, at the very beginning of the elegy, in the twice given *nūdmāh*, 'struck dumb,' a word kindred in its root to *dām*. The choice of *ādāmāh*, where we should look for *hū'ām*, or, at least, for *hūāretz* (Nägelsbach), was undoubtedly determined by the sound.

(XVI.)

(1) Send ye the fattened lamb⁵⁴ of the ruler of the land⁵⁵
from a rock⁵⁶ by the desert,⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *fattened lamb*] Heb. *kar*, the same word which we find (in the pl. *kārīm*) in the statement of Mesha's tribute to the king of Israel (II. Kings iii. 4).

⁵⁵ Due, as tribute, to the Hebrew suzerain, the real ruler.

⁵⁶ *From a rock*] Not *from Sela* (Petra), the Hebrew name of that Idumæan rock-fastness being *hassela'*, the rock (II. Kings xiv. 7, and, perhaps, Judg. i. 36). The meaning of the verse is: Send now tribute, not from your capital, but from your places of refuge among rocks by the desert. The author of Jer. xviii., an amplification of our elegy, therefore turned the verses before us into 'Abandon the cities, and dwell in the rock, O inhabitants of Moab; and be like a dove that has her nest in the sides of the mouth of a cave' (verse 28; cf. II. Sam. xvii. 9, where *pa'hath*, cave, appears as a hiding-place). The confounding of *sela'* with *hassela'* has served as a support for the notion that a flight from the north to the south and to Edom is described in Is. xv., a notion which cannot stand a close examination of the text. (Cf. Wetzstein's dissertation on Sela and Bozrah in Delitzsch's 'Commentary on Isaiah,' third edition: 'Alle Erklärungsversuche, wie die Moabiter dazu kommen, die landesherrlichen Lämmer aus dem edomitischen Sela' zu holen, sind unbefriedigend.')

⁵⁷ *by the desert*] Literally, *at the desert*, or *toward the desert*, Heb. *mīdbarāh*, with the *āh* locale in its softened meaning ('in etwas abgeschwächter Bedeutung, um einen Ort zu bezeichnen, wo sich etwas befindet,' Kautzsch's 'Gesenius' Hebräische Grammatik,' § 90; cf. Rödiger's edition, § 88, and Ewald's 'Lehrbuch,' § 216), as in *אֲחִירָב בְּרֹעַד מַהְנִימָה* (I. Kings iv. 14), *וּשְׁמָה אֲשֶׁמֶיֶךָ* (Jer. xviii. 2), *אֲשֶׁר קָטְרוּ שְׁמָה* (II. Kings xxiii. 8), and, according to Rödiger and Ewald, in *הָקִים לָנוּ יְהוָה נְבָאִים בְּבִלָּה* (Jer. xxix. 15) and *שֶׁמֶשׁ יָרַח עֹמֵד וּבִלָּה* (Hab. iii. 11); or in its commoner meaning as in *נִגְבָּה* (Ex. xxvi. 18, Josh. xviii. 15), *יָמָה מוֹרָרָה*, *יָמָה תִּימָנָה*, *יָמָה צִפּוֹנָה*, *יָמָה קִרְמָה*.

to daughter Zion's mount.
 Like birds fluttering about,
 like scattered nestlings,
 Moab's daughters will be,
 at Arnon's fords.
 ' Give counsel,
 frame a decision ;⁵⁸
 make thy shade like night
 in the midst of noontide ;
 hide the fugitives,
 betray not the homeless ;
 let my fugitives sojourn with thee,
 to Moab be a shelter⁵⁹
 from the spoiler.
 Yea, the oppressor is no more,
 violence is past,
 the trampler has vanished⁶⁰ from the land ;
 (5) but on mercy a throne is established,
 and enthroned on it is in truth—
 in David's tent—

⁵⁸ *Give counsel, frame a decision*] The Hebrew imperatives in the following lines (and here as corrected by the Masorites) are in the sing. fem. The prayer is thus addressed, by fugitives, to ' daughter Zion.'

⁵⁹ *Let . . . shelter*] The substitution of נִדְּחֵי for נִדְּחֵי, in accordance with the Alexandrian, Chaldee, and Syriac versions, changes the rendering of the two lines into the following: *Let Moab's fugitives sojourn with thee, be a shelter to them.*

⁶⁰ *the trampler has vanished*] In the original the noun is in the sing., and the verb in the pl., which, if correct, would require in a literal translation a rendering like *every trampler has vanished* ; but the correctness of the verb may be doubted.

a judge zealous for right,
 and ready for justice.'—
 'We have heard of Moab's haughtiness,
 the very lofty;
 of his pride, and haughtiness, and insolence—
 and the falsehood of his talk!'

A few of the preceding lines, in the original, almost unmistakably contain a succession of allusions, in sound and meaning, to names most conspicuous in the history of Mesha. The 'oppressor' (Heb. *mēc*) is Mesha himself (*mēsha**, 'the savior'); the 'trampler' (*rāmēs*) is the trampling and subduing god Chemosh;⁶¹ the judge (*shōphēt*) zealous for right (*mishpāt*) is Jehoshaphat, through whom 'Jehovah judges' (*shāphat*). And the Hebrew words used here for 'oppressor'⁶² and 'trampler' occur, in these forms, nowhere else in the Bible.

⁶¹ *Chemosh*] In reference to the etymology of this name, Schlottmann (in Richm's Bible Dictionary, art. 'Chamos') says: 'Uns ist am wahrscheinlichsten die von Gesenius vertheidigte, wonach das Wort (von der Wurzel *kāmasch* = *Kāblasch*) den Gott als den bezeichnet, welcher die feindlichen Gewalten niedertritt und bündigt. Es passt das gut zu seiner Auffassung als Ares. Und es spricht dafür das fast gleichlautende syrische Wort *Kēmāsch* = Alp, *incubus*, *ephiattes*.' Gesenius (*s. v. kāmash*) compares, besides, Ar. *kābus*, Syr. *kamshunā*, skins of pressed grapes ('vom Zertreten'). Mühlau and Volck, in their edition of Gesenius, cling to the same view, which is also that of Movers and Keil.

⁶² 'oppressor'] More strictly, perhaps, *blood-sucker* or *narrow-sucker*.

The last section resumes the purely elegiac, though ironic, tone:

(XVI.)

(7) Therefore Moab wails for Moab,
 all of him wails.
 For the grape-cakes of Kir-Hareseth⁶³
 ye moan, utterly undone.
 Heshbon's fruit-fields are withered,
 Sibmah's⁶⁴ vine is,
 whose choice plants crushed lords of nations,⁶⁵
 touched Jazer,⁶⁶ spreading,
 trailed through the desert;
 its shoots wandered far,
 crossed the sea.

⁶³ Vitrिंगa was the first to identify Kir-Hareseth, or Kir-Heres, with Kir-Moab (see above, note 40), and his view has been adopted by the best critical commentators with rare unanimity. Kir-Moab may have been the Hebrew name of the town, designating it as the principal fortress of the land, and Kir-Hareseth the Moabitish, marking it as 'brick-town' or 'pottery-town' (*cf.* Heb. כִּיר־הַרִּישֵׁת and כִּיר־מֹאב)—on account of its fortifications or manufactures—or, what Palmer deduces from a local Arabic word, as 'hill-town.'

⁶⁴ *Sibmah*] Or Sebam (in the Authorized Version, inaccurately, Shebam; *cf.* Num. xxxii. 3, 38), a town located by Jerome at a distance of hardly five hundred paces from Heshbon.

⁶⁵ Broke them down with intoxication; compare Heb. *hāl'mū*, crushed, with *hālāmē yayin*, crushed with wine (Is. xxviii. 1). The verse is thus explained by Cocejus, Vitrिंगa, Hitzig, Knobel, and others, against whom Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, and Nägelsbach uphold the older rendering, *lords of nations crushed its choice plants*.

⁶⁶ In the north, between Heshbon and Ramoth-in-Gilead, according to Eusebius and Jerome.

Therefore I weep
 with weeping Jazer
 for Sibmah's vine ;
 I water thee with tears,
 O Heshbon, with Elealeh.
 For upon thy fruit-harvest,
 upon thy vintage,⁶⁷
 the war-shout has fallen.

- (10) And joy is cut off,
 and exultation, from the garden-land ;
 in the vineyards there is no singing,
 no huzzaing ;
 no wine, in the presses,
 is pressed by the treaders,
 'the wine-shout I have abolished.'

Therefore my bosom's strings
 for Moab like a harp are stirred,
 my inward parts for Kir-Heres.

And now, when it appears
 that Moab's strength expires
 on the height⁶⁸—
 he goes into his sanctuary to pray,
 but he is powerless.

⁶⁷ *vintage*] In the original, *kāḡîr*, instead of *bāḡîr*, on account of alliteration with the preceding *kayîḡ* (Delitzsch), the word is thus used in Is. xviii. 5 (Knobel). In Jer. xlvi. 32 the usual *bāḡîr* is substituted.

⁶⁸ *the height*] The high battling-ground; cf. יהונתן על כמותיך חלל (ii. Sam. i. 25), ועל כמותי יעמידני (Ps. xviii. 34), ועל כמותי ידרכני (Hab. iii. 19), ונפתלי על מרומי שדה (Jud. v. 18).

In regard to the connection, here sought to be established, between the Scriptural narrative of Mesha's war⁶⁹ and the elegy reproduced by Isaiah, the following points may still be noticed as significant. Kir-Hareseth, or Kir-Heres, occurs only in these two pieces and in Jeremiah's amplification of the latter. In both pieces that town appears (or reappears) at the end: in the narrative as the last stronghold defended by the Moabites, and in the elegy as the city representing all Moab in its last agony.⁷⁰ Its mention is directly followed in the narrative by a verse beginning, 'And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too heavy for him,' and ending, 'but they were powerless;'⁷¹ and in the elegy by one beginning, 'And now, when it appears that Moab's strength expires on the height,' and ending, 'but he is powerless.'⁷² The narrative ends with Mesha's sacrifice of a royal son, and a mysterious hint at indirect guilt in the monstrous deed: the poet breaks off abruptly at Moab's entering the sanctuary, as if shrinking in horror from the continuation. A similar horror seems to have prevented the narrator of the story of Jephthah's daughter from distinctly stating what was the fate

⁶⁹ II. Kings iii.

⁷⁰ Mark the parallelism, 'for Moab . . . for Kir-Heres.'

⁷¹ Or, 'but they could not' (Heb. *v'lo yākhōlū*).

⁷² Or, 'but he cannot' (*v'lo yūkhāl*).

of that victim ;⁷³ and a kindred sentiment caused a Greek artist who painted Agamemnon and Iphigenia at the altar to veil the face of the father.

⁷³ 'He did with her according to his vow which he had vowed,' is the writer's circumlocution (Judg. xi. 39).

XXV.

SUCH had been the relations of the Israelites with their neighbors all around when Amos of Tekoa, in the time of Uzziah of Judah and Jeroboam II. of Israel, about 800 B.C., 'two years before the earthquake,' launched his denunciations of wickedness, and prophetic announcements of divine vengeance, against all those neighboring peoples, and against Judah and Israel themselves. He had come from Judah to preach righteousness in Israel, but began with a rapid introductory survey of all the surrounding ground, as if to show that no special hatred inspired his words, and that his predictions of woe flowed from an all-embracing sacred conviction, which admitted of no exception: Jehovah was pure and just; the nations were sinful—Jehovah's justice demanded their downfall. Their crimes were many, but one would suffice to illustrate those of each nation. Jehovah had decreed their doom, and he would not reverse his decree. Amos's utterances were brief, oracular, poetical:

(AMOS I.)

(3) Thus says Jehovah:

‘For three crimes of Damascus,

and for a fourth,¹ I reverse it not:
 for threshing Gilead with iron rollers.²
 So I send fire into Hazael's house,
 and it devours the palaces of Ben-Hadad.³

- (5) I break the bar of Damascus,
 cut off the see-holder from the vale of Aven,⁴
 the sceptre-holder from Beth-Eden,⁵
 and Syria's people is driven away to Kir'⁶—
 says Jehovah.

Thus says Jehovah :

'For three crimes of Gaza,

¹ *for a fourth*] In the original, *for four* ; the fourth is specified. For a similar use of 'three' and 'four' in addition, where only four are meant altogether, see Prov. xxx. 15, 18, 21, 29.

² This is probably a figurative allusion to the cruelties perpetrated by Hazael of Syria at his conquest of Gilead and all the rest of Trans-jordanic Palestine, during the reign of Jehu (II. Kings x. 32, 33). Of the atrocities then committed we have a telling picture in II. Kings viii. 12.

³ *of Ben-Hadad*] Of Ben-Hadad III., Hazael's son, or, more probably, of the kings of that name in general.

⁴ *vale of Aven*] Valley of nothingness, or of idols, an unidentified place (Gesenius, Keil); or valley of On, that is of Heliopolis (Baalbek) in Cœle-Syria (Ewald, Hitzig, Mühlau and Volck's Gesenius; see note B at the end of vol. i.).

⁵ *Beth-Eden*] *Abode of delight*, probably a summer residence of the Syrian kings. Ewald, Keil, and others identify Beth-Eden, after Grotius, with the Paradisus of Ptolemy, in the district of Laodicea, the site of which is marked, according to Robinson, by the ruins of Old Jusich, near the north end of the elevated plain of Cœle-Syria. Various other identifications have been attempted.

⁶ *Kir*] The country from which it originally came (Am. ix. 7): see note E, at the end of the volume.

and for a fourth, I reverse it not:
 for driving off a full host of captives,
 to deliver them to Edom.⁷
 So I send fire into Gaza's wall,
 and it devours her palaces ;
 I cut off the see-holder from Ashdod,
 the sceptre-holder from Ashkelon,
 and turn my hand against Ekron,
 and the remnant of the Philistines perishes'—
 says the Lord Jehovah.

Thus says Jehovah:
 'For three crimes of Tyre,
 and for a fourth, I reverse it not:
 for delivering a full host of captives to Edom,
 and forgetting the brotherly covenant.⁸

⁷ *for driving . . . to Edom*] For carrying off entire populations of Israelitish villages surprised in hostile inroads, and selling them as slaves to the Edomites, the inveterate enemies of their Hebrew kindred. Gaza is here spoken of as the representative city of Philistia, or as the state whose hostility was principally conspicuous. Of the four other leading Philistine cities Gath alone is omitted—as it also is in Zech. ix. 5, 6, and in Zeph. ii. 4—owing probably to comparative insignificance after its conquest by Hazael (II. Kings xii. 18 [17]).

⁸ The Tyrians, in delivering Israelites—bought, probably, from Syrian captors, and carried through Philistia—to the Edomites, set aside the friendly alliance which prevailed between the Phœnicians and the people of Israel from the times of Hiram, king of Tyre, who 'was ever a loving friend of David' (I. Kings v. 15 [1]), and 'concluded a covenant' with Solomon (*ibid* 26 [12]), whom he called his 'brother' (I. Kings ix. 13). Thus the text before us is explained by Rashi, but Aben Ezra and Kimhi find the Tyrians guilty of forgetting the brotherly ties which united the Edomites, to whom they

(10) So I send fire into Tyre's wall,
and it devours her palaces.'

Thus says Jehovah:

'For three crimes of Edom,
and for a fourth, I reverse it not:
for pursuing his brother with the sword,
and stifling his compassion,
so that his wrath preys⁹ for ever,
and he keeps his fury eternally.
So I send fire into Teman,¹⁰
and it devours the palaces of Bozrah.'¹¹

Thus says Jehovah:

'For three crimes of the Ammonites,
and for a fourth, I reverse it not:
for ripping up the pregnant women of Gilead,¹²

delivered the captives, with the Israelites, as Esau-Edom was the brother of Jacob-Israel. The former view is adopted by Hitzig and Keil, and the latter by Ewald.

⁹ *his wrath preys* | Heb. וַיִּטְרַף אָפָיו, as in Job xvi. 9: אָפָיו טְרַף; but it has been suggested that וַיִּטְרַף stands by mistake for וַיִּטֵּן, he guards, which would give us *he guards his wrath for ever* in the same parallelism with the following 'he keeps his fury eternally' which we find in Jer. iii. 5 ('Will he guard his anger for ever? will he keep it eternally?'), and in Ps. ciii. 9 ('He will not chide eternally, nor guard his anger for ever').

¹⁰ A southern region of Edom.

¹¹ According to the prevalent view, an important town of Edom, in the mountains, between the Dead Sea and Petra, the extensive ruins of which, at the modern village of El-Busaireh, have been described by Burckhardt. Wetzstein contends for the identity of Bozrah and Petra; see above, p. 36.

¹² The same barbarity is foretold in II. Kings viii. 12 of Hazael, who conquered Gilead, 'presumably *ex eventu*: it is, therefore, not

to extend their border !
 So I kindle fire in Rabbah's¹³ wall,
 and it devours her palaces—
 amid war-shouts on a day of battle,
 in a storm on a day of tempest ;
 (15) and their king goes into exile,
 he with his princes all'—
 says Jehovah.

(II.)

(1) Thus says Jehovah:
 ' For three crimes of Moab,
 and for a fourth, I reverse it not :
 for burning the bones of Edom's king into lime.'¹⁴
 So I send fire into Moab,
 and it devours the palaces of Kerioth ;¹⁵

improbable that the Syrians and Ammonites joined hands on that occasion' (Hitzig).

¹³ Rabbah, or Rabbah of the Ammonites, had its name (*the great*) probably from its being the capital (the great city) of that people. Ptolemy Philadelphus named it Philadelphia. Polybius knew it as Rabbatamana (the Rabbah of Ammon), and Abulfeda as Amman. The place where its ruins were discovered by Burckhardt still bears the latter name. It lay south-east of Ramoth-in-Gilead.

¹⁴ This act is generally referred by commentators to the war of the triple alliance against Mesha, who, on the retreat of the allies, is presumed by some to have overtaken and slain the king of Edom, while others see in the 'burning of the bones of the king of Edom' the sacrificing of the (Edomite) crown-prince by the Moabite king, 'as a burnt-offering.' (See above.)

¹⁵ *Kerioth*] In the Authorized Version here *Kerioth*, a town of Moab mentioned twice in Jer. xlviii., and identified by Hitzig and others with Kureiyat (see above XXIV., note 20), but by Ewald,

and Moab perishes in tumult,¹⁶
amid war-shouts and trumpet-blasts ;
and I cut off the judge from the land,¹⁷
and all its princes I slay with him'—
says Jehovah.

Thus says Jehovah:

'For three crimes of Judah,
and for a fourth, I reverse it not:
for scorning Jehovah's instruction,
and disregarding his laws ;
when they were led astray by their deceits,
after which their fathers had walked.'¹⁸

(5) So I send fire into Judah,
and it devours the palaces of Jerusalem.'

Mühlau and Volck, and others deemed identical with Ar-Moab, the ancient capital of the country.

¹⁶ An allusion to the appellation 'sons of tumult' (men of tumult) by which the Moabites were popularly or poetically designated ; see Jer. xlviii. 45, and cf. Num. xxiv. 17, in the original.

¹⁷ *from the land*] Literally, *from her* (*its*, Moab's) *midst*.

¹⁸ Wellhausen ('Geschichte Israels,' vol. i. p. 59) suspects this general reproach cast upon Judah, so different from the preceding specifications of crime, to be spurious.

XXVI.

HAVING thus cast rapid glances over all the nations around, and announced a tempest which was to lay low their pride, Amos turned his eye upon the kingdom of Israel before him, and there, too, saw crimes which prevented the reversal of Jehovah's decree. But there, whither he had gone to act, his gaze remained fixed upon the spectacle before him, his indignation overpowered him, and, even before finishing his regular utterance of doom, he plunged into a bitter harangue. Such is the impression which the first words of Amos against Israel produce upon our mind. We can almost image to ourselves the plain poor man from Tekoa—for he was one of the shepherds of that little town¹ who tended their flocks on the borders of the wilderness of Judah—standing before a concourse of people at the public place of Beth-El or Samaria, reading from a scroll brought with him the last of a string of direful prophetic utterances, and suddenly breaking off at the fresh remembrance of shocking experiences, and wildly pouring forth against his hearers accusations, reproaches, and imprecations. It was heartless oppression of the

¹ Am. i. 1, vii. 14, 15. This last verse proves that he tended flocks, not herds.

poor by the rich and the guardians of justice, and shameless licentiousness, fed by extortion, which wrung from him this outburst of wrath :

(Amos II.)

(6) Thus says Jehovah:

‘ For three crimes of Israel,
and for a fourth, I reverse it not:
for selling the innocent man for money,
and the needy on account of a pair of shoes.²
They pant after dust of the earth on the head of the
poor,³
and pervert the way of the meek ;
son and father go to the same damsel,
to desecrate my holy name ;
on pawned clothes they stretch themselves
by every altar,
and wine of the mulcted⁴ they drink
in the house of their God.

‘ And yet, *I* destroyed the Amorite before them,
him who was as high as cedars,

² Selling him as a slave to his creditor for money lent him, or even for the paltry price of a pair of shoes which he is unable to pay. The parallel sentence in Am. viii. 6 shows that ‘ for money ’ does not mean *for a bribe*. As to the practice, in the kingdom of the ten tribes, of enslaving debtors, and even their children, see II. Kings iv. 1.

³ They long to see the poor leaving the seat of justice as condemned criminals, with dust strewn upon their heads (Ewald).

⁴ *wine of the mulcted*] Or, *mulct wine* (paid with extorted fines), ‘*ānāshim*’ being, perhaps, a noun pl. like ‘*āshūqīm*’, used by the same prophet (Am. iii. 9).

and as strong as oaks ;
 I destroyed his fruit above,
 and his roots beneath.

- (10) *I* brought you up from the land of Egypt,
 and led you through the wilderness, forty years,
 to take possession of the Amorite's land.

‘ And I raised up some of your sons to be prophets,
 and some of your youths to be Nazarites⁵—
 Is not this so, O sons of Israel ?’—
 Jehovah's utterance.—

‘ But ye made the Nazarites drink wine,
 and commanded the prophets thus:
 “ Ye shall not prophesy.”

‘ Behold, I press you down,⁶
 as the wain presses when full of sheaves.
 And the swift loses his flight,
 the stanch strengthens not his force,
 the hero saves not his life,

- (15) the wielder of the bow stands not,
 the light-footed escapes⁷ not,
 the rider of the horse saves not his life,

⁵ The Nazarites, men consecrated by their own or their parents' vow to a life of abstinence, and wearing in their unshorn locks the outward sign of their consecration, were living embodiments of the moral principle as opposed to luxury and self-indulgence. In the period of the judges, in which Samson and Samuel appear as Nazarites, they may have exercised as popular leaders an influence akin to that of the prophets of the same or later times.

⁶ *down*] Heb. *ta'httkhem*, as *ta'htām* is used in Job xl. 12 (Gesenius).

⁷ *escapes*] Supply *naphshō* after *y'mallēt* (as in Job xx. 20), or read, with Hitzig, *yimmālēt*.

and the most brave-hearted of heroes flees naked,
in that day'—
Jehovah's utterance.

After this we hear Amos more calmly and collectedly address the people of the northern kingdom, telling them that their selection by Jehovah is far from giving them an immunity for sin and wrong, explaining what forces him to announce peril, and pointing out the manifold sources of corruption from which woe must spring. He seems to speak in the capital of the kingdom, Samaria: her palaces, gorgeous with the spoils conquered by Joash and Jeroboam II., stand before him, and her luxury and sinfulness, fostered by wealth and success, glaringly strike his eyes. He speaks at first to all the people:

(III.)

- (1) Hear this word,
which Jehovah speaks about you,
O sons of Israel—
'about the whole race
which I brought up from the land of Egypt,
saying,
"You alone I have noticed of all the races of the
earth:
therefore I will punish all your iniquities."'
Do two walk together
without joining each other?

Does a lion roar in the forest,
and have no prey?
Does a young lion cry from his den
unless he seizes ?

- (5) Does a bird fall into a net below,
and there is no springe for him ?
Does a net rise from the ground,
and nothing is caught ?
Is the trumpet blown in a city,
and the people are not alarmed ?
Or does a calamity befall a city,
and Jehovah has not done it ?

Surely the Lord Jehovah does naught
without revealing his secret to the prophets, his ser-
vants:

A lion has roared—who should not fear ?
The Lord Jehovah has spoken—who should not
prophecy ?

Let a voice resound over Ashdod's palaces,
and over the palaces in the land of Egypt ;
calling, ' Assemble on Samaria's hills,
and see the many tumults within her,
the oppression in her midst.'

- (10) ' They know not to do right'—

Jehovah's utterance—

' they who hoard in their palaces rapine and prey.'

He then apostrophizes Samaria :

(III. 11.)

Therefore thus says the Lord Jehovah:

' A foe—all around the land !

And he brings down thy strength⁸ from thee,
and thy palaces are plundered.’

Jeroboam II. had probably at that time humbled Israel’s most dreaded enemy, Damascus, reconquering the Israelitish territories from the neighborhood of Hamath, far in the north, to the Dead Sea,⁹ and again opening the proud metropolis of Syria to the wealthy merchants of Samaria, to whom, a century earlier, Ben-Hadad II. had surrendered separate streets in his capital.¹⁰ But the real danger to the kingdom of the ten tribes had long ceased to lurk in that neighboring quarter. It was the great power beyond the Euphrates which threatened destruction, and both Samaria and Damascus were to be its victims :

(III. 12–15.)

Thus says Jehovah:

‘As the shepherd snatches from a lion’s mouth
a pair of shanks or a piece of an ear,
so shall the sons of Israel escape:
they who dwell in Samaria with¹¹ a corner of a bed,

⁸ *strength*] Fortifications; ‘oz, perhaps for *migdal* ‘oz (Aben Ezra).

⁹ II. Kings xiv. 25.

¹⁰ I. Kings xx. 34.—That Jeroboam conquered Damascus itself is also by some accepted as a fact, after II. Kings xiv. 28; but that verse is very obscurely worded, and admits of a different explanation. See Thenius, *in loco*.

¹¹ *with*] ב, after ינצלו, as in נמלט בשמנה אנשים, escaped with eight men (Jer. xli. 15). ואתמלטה בעיר שני, and I escape

and they in Damascus with that of a couch.¹²

‘Hear ye, and testify to the house of Jacob:’—
utterance of the Lord Jehovah, the God of Hosts—
‘In the day when I visit Israel’s crimes upon him,
I will visit the altars of Beth-El;¹³
and the altar-horns shall be struck off,
and fall to the ground.
And I smite winter-palace and summer-palace,¹⁴
and the ivory houses perish,
and many mansions disappear’—
Jehovah’s utterance.

These luxurious mansions of the magnates are the abodes of effeminacy and expensive profligacy. The caprices of wanton women, who rule the men, must be satisfied at any price, however ill-gotten. These women are thus adverted to :

with the skin of my teeth (Job, xix. 20), and כהמורו לא ימלט, he escapes not with what he loves (Job, xx. 20); cf. also במקלי עברתי (Gen. xxxii. 11), and ותעלהו . . . בפרים שלישה (I. Sam. i. 24).

¹² In the original, elliptically, *and in Damascus of a couch*. See note F, at the end of the volume.—The meaning of the verse is that those escaping before the enemy will barely be able to save slight fragments of their costly furniture, fragments as worthless as are to the shepherd a few torn limbs of his lamb, the body of which the lion devours.

¹³ *Beth-El*] The principal seat of the Jehovistic image worship, as organized by Jeroboam I., according to I. Kings xii. 26-33.

¹⁴ Probably royal palaces in Samaria. A winter palace of one of the kings of Judah is mentioned in Jer. xxxvi. 22.

(IV. 1-4.)

Hear this word,
 ye Bashan-cows,¹⁵
 on Samaria's hill;
 ye who extort from the poor,
 and crush the needy;
 who say to your lords,
 'Bring, that we may feast.'
 The Lord Jehovah swears by his holiness,
 'Behold, days are coming upon you,
 when they will drag you away with hooks,
 and your remnant with fisher's thorns;
 and across breached walls ye leave,
 each by herself,
 and ye rush¹⁶ into Harmon '¹⁷—
 Jehovah's utterance.

¹⁵ Fat and wanton cows, like those raised on the rich pastures of Bashan, east of the Jordan.

¹⁶ *ye rush*] Hitzig finds a similar use of *hishlikh* in II. Kings x. 25 and Job xxvii. 22; but a slight change in the form used would change the rendering into *ye are hurled*.

¹⁷ *Harmon*] Perhaps another form, peculiar with Amos, for Hermon, just as he has יִשְׁחָק (vii. 9, 16) for מִסְרָף, יִצְחָק (vi. 10) for מִשְׁרָף, and מִהָאֵב (vi. 8) for מִהָעֵב. The Chaldee renders *harmôn* by *Armenia*, and others, considering the word equivalent to *armôn*, translate, *into the castle*.—The meaning of the whole prediction, probably, is that many of the voluptuous women, at the sack of the capital, will be rudely dragged away as captives, as cows are driven from Bashan with hooks in their nostrils (*cf.* Is. xxxvii. 29: 'I put my hook into thy nose, and my bridle into thy lips'), while others will try to save themselves by flight, each creeping through a hole in the wall.

The prophet then turns again to the mass of the people, and after ironically telling them to go on in turns sinning and atoning by sacrifices—at idolatrous, or semi-idolatrous, national altars—depicts their chastisement in the past, and the power of him who will still chastise them :

(IV.)

- (4) 'Go ye to Beth-El, and transgress ;
to Gilgal,¹⁸ and heap crime upon crime ;
bring your sacrifices every morning,
every third day¹⁹ your tithes,
(5) and offer thank-offerings with incense and leaven.

¹⁸ A place at which also according to Hosea (xii. 12 [11]; *cf.* iv. 15 and ix. 15) sacrifices took place. It is either the Gilgal in the Jordan valley east of Jericho, at which holy practices took place in the time of Joshua (Josh. v. 3, 9, 10), and burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were offered before Jehovah in the time of Samuel (I. Sam. x. 8, xi. 15, xiii. 8-10, xv. 21), or the Gilgal which received a degree of sanctity from the sojourn there of Elijah and Elisha (II. Kings ii. 1), and from a school of prophets presided over by the latter (II. Kings iv. 38). That the two places are not identical is proved by the circumstance that Elijah and Elisha descended from their Gilgal to Beth-El (II. Kings ii. 2), which lay more than a thousand feet above the altitude of Gilgal in the Jordan valley. The Gilgal of Elijah and Elisha—and probably of Amos and Hosea—is best identified with the present village of Jiljileh, situated at an altitude of upward of three thousand feet, south-west of Seilun (Shiloh), and half way between Jerusalem and Nablus, though Jiljileh between Nablus and Joppa may also be compared.

¹⁹ *every third day*] The Authorized Version's 'after three years' is an unnecessarily forced rendering of the plain words of the original.

and proclaim freewill-offerings aloud;
for thus ye like it, sons of Israel'—
the Lord Jehovah's utterance.

'And *I* also have given you
cleanness of teeth in all your towns,
and want of bread in all your places:
yet ye have not returned to me'—
Jehovah's utterance.

'I also withheld the rain from you,
three months before the harvest;
and caused it to rain upon one town,
and not to rain upon another;
one field was rained upon,
and another, not rained upon, withered;
so two, three towns would wander to one
to drink water, but would not be satisfied:
yet ye returned not to me'—
Jehovah's utterance.

'I smote you with blight and mildew;
your many gardens and vineyards,
fig-trees and olive-trees,
the locust devoured:
yet ye returned not to me'—
Jehovah's utterance.

- (10) 'I sent pestilence among you,
in the Egyptian manner;
I slew with the sword your youths,
together with your captured steeds,²⁰

²⁰ Heb. עֵם צִבִּי סוּסֵיכֶם, probably, by mistake, for עֵם צִבִּי מַמְלֹכֹת, with the flower of your steeds. Cf. צִבִּי מַמְלֹכֹת (Is. xiii. 19).

and made the stench of your camp ascend,
 even into your nostrils:
 yet ye returned not to me'—
 Jehovah's utterance.

'I wrought destruction among you,
 like the divine overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrha,
 and you were like a brand plucked out of the fire:
 yet ye returned not to me'—
 Jehovah's utterance.

'Therefore, thus will I do to thee, O Israel—
 Because I will do this to thee,
 prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.'
 For here is he who shaped the mountains,
 and created the wind,
 and can tell man what his²¹ thought is ;
 who turns dawn into darkness,
 and marches over the heights of the earth—
 Jehovah, God of Hosts, is his name—

(V. 8, 9.)²²

who made the seven-stars and Orion,
 turns death-shades into morning,
 and darkens day into night ;
 who summons the waters of the sea,
 and pours them over the surface of the earth—
 Jehovah is his name—

²¹ *his*] Man's.

²² That these two verses are the continuation of the preceding, and entirely out of place where we find them in the book, is obvious. Ewald also connects the two fragments, but at the wrong place.

who flashes desolation upon the strong,²³
and desolation bursts upon the stronghold.

Then follow announcements of impending ruin,
fresh denunciations of the iniquities of the powerful
and the rich, and exhortations to repentance:

(V.)

- (1) Hear this word,
which I take up against you, as a dirge,
O house of Israel:
Fallen, never to rise,
is the virgin Israel!
prostrate on her soil,
with none to lift her up!

For thus says the Lord Jehovah:
‘The city which marches out by a thousand
shall retain a hundred,
and that which marches out by a hundred
shall retain ten,
for the house of Israel.’²⁴

- Thus says Jehovah to the house of Israel:
‘Seek me, and live;
(5) but seek not Beth-El,
repair not to Gilgal.

²³ *the strong*] Heb. עַן, perhaps, by mistake, for עֵן, in the sense of מִגְדָּל עַן, tower, citadel (see above, note 8), and in parallelism with מִבְצָר, stronghold, fortress.

²⁴ *for the house of Israel*] Words contained in the following line (see the original), and perhaps wrongly inserted here.

- and go not over to Beer-Sheba.²⁵
 For Gilgal glides into gloomy exile,²⁶
 and God's-House²⁷ is to be Nought's.²⁸
 Seek Jehovah, and live ;
 lest he break as fire into the house of Joseph,
 and it devour, and none quench it for Beth-El.'
 They change right into wormwood,
 and cast righteousness to the ground.²⁹
- (10) They hate the admonisher at the gate,³⁰
 and abhor him who speaks in innocence.
 'Now, because ye trample upon the poor man,
 and extort from him a tribute of corn:
 in the houses of squared stone ye have built
 ye shall not dwell ;
 of the delicious vineyards ye have planted
 ye shall not drink the wine.
 I know, many are your crimes,
 and mighty your sins.—
 Foes of the innocent,

²⁵ Make no pilgrimages across the Judæan border. In regard to the sanctity of Beer-Sheba, see above, IV. (vol. i).

²⁶ A free imitation of the play upon words in the original.

²⁷ *God's-House*] The translation of Beth-El.

²⁸ Heb. לְבֵית אֵין, for לְבֵית אֵין, Nought's-House, the name into which Hosea repeatedly changes that of Beth-El. (See note F, at the end of the volume.)—Beer-Sheba's downfall is not predicted, for that town did not belong to 'the house of Israel' in the narrower sense, which is addressed here.

²⁹ The two verses following in the text are given above. (See note 22.)

³⁰ *at the gate*] At the public place adjoining the city gate, used for judicial sittings and popular gatherings.

takers of ransom,
they bow down the needy at the gate.'

Now, he who reflects in this time is silent,
for it is an evil time.

Seek the good, and not evil,
that ye may live ;
and may Jehovah, the God of Hosts,
be so with you as ye say.

(15) Hate evil, and love the good,
and set up justice at the gate :
Jehovah, the God of Hosts, might then become
gracious
to the remnant of Joseph.

Now, thus says Jehovah, the God of Hosts, the
Lord:

'At all the wide places wailing !
in all the streets men shall cry, 'Alas, alas !'
They call the husbandman to mourning,
announce wailing to those skilled in lamentation.
In all the vineyards wailing !
for I pass through thy midst'—
says Jehovah.

Woe to you who long for Jehovah's day !³¹
What good is Jehovah's day to you ?
it is darkness, not light.
So a man flees before a lion,
and is met by a bear ;
he enters the house
and rests his hand on the wall,
and is bitten by a snake.

³¹ A day of divine judgment, in which Israel would be exalted.

- (20) Yea, Jehovah's day is darkness, not light;
gloom without a ray.
 'I hate, I detest, your feasts,
I enjoy not your holy gatherings.
If ye bring me burnt-offerings,
or your flour-offerings—I dislike them;
at your peace-fatlings I look not.
Remove thou from me the noise of thy songs,
thy harp-music let me not hear;
but let justice flow as waters,
and righteousness as a perennial stream.
- (25) Did ye bring me sacrifices or offerings
in the wilderness, in those forty years,
O house of Israel?
Ye bore the image of your king,
the figure of your idols,
of your star, the god,
whom ye made to yourselves.³²
I will drive you away beyond Damascus'—
says Jehovah, whose name is God of Hosts.

(VI.)

- (1) Woe to the men without care in Zion,³³
to the undisturbed on Samaria's hill,
the chief men of the foremost among nations,
to whom the house of Israel flocks!
Go ye over to Calneh,³⁴ and see;

³² See note G, at the end of the volume.

³³ This side-glance cast upon Zion, the holy city of the prophet's own land, seems to spring from a sudden remembrance, which, for a moment, he is unable to suppress.

³⁴ A city 'in the land of-Shinar' (Gen. x. 10), identified by two

and proceed thence to Hamath, the great,³⁵
 and go down to Philistine Gath:
 are they fairer than these kingdoms?³⁶
 is their border larger than yours?
 Men who put³⁷ far off the evil day,
 and bring near and seat oppression;
 who lie on ivory beds,
 and stretch themselves on their couches;
 who eat lambs from the flock,
 and calves from the fattening-stall;

Targums, Eusebius, Jerome, and Ephraem Syrus with the classical Ctesiphon on the Tigris, opposite Seleucia, and by George Rawlinson, after the Talmud, with the present Niffer in the marshes on the left bank of the Euphrates, about sixty miles south-east of the ruins of Babylon. The former identification is strengthened by the circumstance that Pliny, though he alone, locates Ctesiphon in an Assyrian province called Chalonitis (Gesenius, 'Thesaurus,' p. 691), while Rawlinson's conjecture is all but refuted by the highly probable identity of Niffer with the Nipur of the cuneiform inscriptions (see Schrader, 'Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,' p. 19). Cf. George Smith, 'History of Babylonia,' p. 61: 'Calneh, which the Talmud identifies with Nipur or Niffer, . . . more probably lay near the Tigris.' Ménant in his 'Annales des rois d'Assyrie' (p. 18) followed Oppert in identifying Calneh with Mugheir, but in 'Babylone et la Chaldée,' published a year later (1875), stated (p. 93), 'la trace de Chalaneh est encore à découvrir.'

³⁵ Hamath, on the Orontes, the present Hamah, was in the ninth century B.C. the capital of the most powerful kingdom in northern Syria, as numerous Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions testify.

³⁶ *these kingdoms*] Israel and Judah.

³⁷ *Men who put*] In the original these men are adverted to first in the second person, but immediately after, and then constantly, in the third.

- (5) who prattle to the tunes of the lyre,
 and invent vocal instruments like David;
 who drink wine in bowls,
 and anoint themselves with the best of oils,
 and pine not over Joseph's woe—
 these, now, will be driven at the head of the captives,
 and the shouting of the couching³⁸ will cease.

The Lord Jehovah swears by his self—

utterance of Jehovah, the God of Hosts :

'I abhor the pride of Jacob,'³⁹

and hate his palaces ;

and I will deliver up the city, and all in it.

Then, if ten remain in one house, they shall die ;

- (10) and a relative and corpse-burner lifts one up,
 to carry the bones out of the house;
 and when he says to the man in the innermost part
 of the house,
 "Are there with thee more . . .?"
 that one answers, "None,"
 and says, "Hush!
 it is not to be mentioned—by Jehovah's name!"' ⁴⁰

³⁸ *'S'rû'hîm . . .* points back to verse 4, "they who are stretched on their couches"—that is, the revellers ; and it forms a play upon words with *mirza'h* (Keil, after others).

³⁹ *the pride of Jacob*] Samaria, which Isaiah, in a similar harangue (Is. xxviii. 1), calls 'the proud crown,' or 'the crown and pride,' 'of Ephraim's drunkards.' Zion is designated 'the pride of Jacob' in Ps. xlvii. 5 (4), and Babylon, in Is. xiii. 19, 'the proud glory,' or 'the glory and pride,' 'of the Chaldees.' 'The city and all in it,' which follows, is thus in perfect parallelism with 'the pride of Jacob' and 'his palaces.'

⁴⁰ This rendering, for which the translator is indebted to Dr. Samuel

For, behold, Jehovah commands,
and the large house is smitten into fragments,
and the small house into shivers.

Do horses run upon a rock,
or does one plow it with oxen,⁴¹
that ye turn right into poison,
and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood?—
Ye rejoice in a thing of nought,
and say, 'Have we not by our own strength
acquired our horns?'
'Behold, I raise against you, O house of Israel'—
utterance of Jehovah, the God of Hosts—
'a nation, that will oppress you
from Hamath's region to the Brook of the Steppe.'⁴²

Adler, of New York, is made plain by the alteration, in the preceding text, of *בְּבֵית אֶחָד* into *בְּבֵית אֶחָד*, and of *וְנִשְׂאוֹ* into *וְנִשְׂאָל*.

The sense then is: Ten, *in the house of one*, die (himself surviving). A relative *is requested* to burn the bones. When he asks, 'Are there more' . . . , the survivor, crouching in a corner, begs him (from dread and superstition) not to pronounce (the word *dead*).

⁴¹ Heb. *אִם יַחְרוּשׁ בְּבָקָרִים*. Hitzig, after J. D. Michaelis, divides the last word into *בְּבָקָר יִם*, and obtains 'or does one plow the sea with oxen?' 'The *ἀρότης κύματος* . . . plows not with oxen, and *litus arare bubus* proverbially denotes perverted actions.' In any case it may be presumed that instead of *יַחְרוּשׁ* (*יַחְרֹשׁ*) there was originally *יַחְרֹשׁ*. The meaning of the question is: Can things be turned upside down without becoming ridiculous or destructive?

⁴² *of the Steppe*] Literally, *of the Arabah*, a word presumed to correspond to the modern Ghor, the great valley or depression of Palestine and Edom, the southern portion of which, 'lying beyond the cliffs on the south of the Dead Sea, is called by the Arabs *Wady el-'Arabah*' (Robinson, 'Later Biblical Researches,' p. 334). Which

brook is meant cannot be determined (see above, XXIV. note 37), but it probably marked the southern point of Jeroboam II.'s conquests, which, according to II. Kings xiv. 25, extended to 'the Sea of the Steppe,' while in the north his power reached the vicinity of Hamath. Amos means to say, All this power of which ye boast, which ye have evinced in your contests with Syria, will soon prove of no avail, when a much mightier enemy will assail you.

XXVII.

THE nation in which Amos saw the future chastiser of the kingdom of Israel, if not of all Israel, can be no other but Assyria. That power had, in the ninth century B.C., repeatedly loomed up on the northern horizon of Palestine, invading Syria. Already in the earlier part of that century—according to most Assyriologists—the Assyrian king Assurnazirpal boasted in a famous cuneiform inscription of having crossed the Euphrates, imposed a tribute on King Lubarna of Syria, marched across the Orontes, occupied the slopes of Lebanon, advanced to the Mediterranean, and received the tribute of Tyre, Sidon, and other cities of Phœnicia.¹ Assurnazirpal's son and successor Shalmaneser II., 'the conqueror of all the lands,' tells the following of a campaign in the sixth year of his reign, in the black obelisk inscription discovered by Layard at Nimrud:²

'The Euphrates in its upper part I crossed.
The tribute of the kings of the Hittites,³

¹ See Ménant, '*Annales des rois d'Assyrie*,' pp. 87-89, and Schrader, '*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*,' pp. 66, 67.

² The rendering of this inscription here adopted is Sayce's ('*Records of the Past*,' vol. v.).

³ In northern Syria (Hatti, '*hatti*').

all of them, I received. In those days Rimmon-idri⁴
 of Damascus, Irkhulina of Hamath, and the kings
 of the Hittites and of the sea-coasts to the forces of
 each other
 trusted, and to make war and battle
 against me came. By the command of Assur, the great
 Lord, my Lord,
 with them I fought. A destruction of them I made.
 Their chariots, their war-carriages, their war-material I
 took from them.
 20,500 of their fighting men with arrows I slew.'

In his inscription on the monolith found at Kurkh, near Diarbekir, the same king enumerates the forces of the Syrian confederacy arrayed against him in that campaign, and among them he mentions ten thousand men of Ahaabbu Sirlaai, in whom Oppert, Norris, Schrader, and other Assyriologists recognize Ahab of Israel. Of Shalmaneser's campaigns in his tenth, eleventh, and fourteenth years the black obelisk speaks thus:

'In my tenth year for the eighth time the Euphrates I crossed. The cities of Sangara of the city of the Carchemishians I captured.

To the cities of Arame I approached. Arne, his royal city, with 100 of his (other) towns I captured.

In my eleventh year for the ninth time the Euphrates I

⁴ This is the Ben-hadad of Scripture, whose personal name seems to have been Rimmon-idri' (Sayce). Schrader and Ménant read Bin-idri or Bin-hidri. George Smith ('The Assyrian Eponym Canon') substitutes Ben-hadar.

crossed. Cities to a countless number I captured. To the cities of the Hittites

of the land of the Hamathites I went down. Eighty-nine cities I took. Rimmon-idri of Damascus (and) twelve of the kings of the Hittites

with one another's forces strengthened themselves. A destruction of them I made. . . .

. . . In my fourteenth year the country I assembled; the Euphrates I crossed. Twelve kings against me had come.

I fought. A destruction of them I made.'

Of the two last-mentioned campaigns Shalmaneser's 'bull inscription' gives fuller accounts, boastful of destruction, carnage, and captures; and of a later expedition its relation⁵ is this:

'In my eighteenth year the sixteenth time the river
Euphrates

I crossed. Hazael of Syria⁶

to the might of his warriors

trusted, and his warriors

in numbers he gathered.

Saniru, a peak of the mountains

which are in front of Lebanon, as his stronghold

he made. With him I fought,

his overthrow I accomplished. 16,000⁷

men of his army with weapons

I destroyed, 1,121 of his chariots,

⁵ As rendered by George Smith in his 'Eponym Canon.'

⁶ Substituted for Hazailu of Imirisu (Schrader).

⁷ According to Schrader and Ménant; Smith has '18,000.'

410^a of his carriages, with his camp
 I took from him. To save
 his life he fled. After him I pursued,
 in Damascus, his royal city, I besieged him,
 his plantations I cut down, to the mountains
 of Hauran I went, cities
 without number I pulled down, destroyed,
 in the fire I burned, their spoil
 without number I carried off.
 To the mountains of Bahlirahsi,
 which are at the head of the sea, I went. An image
 of my majesty
 in the midst I made. In those days
 the tribute of Tyre
 and Zidon, of Jehu,
 son of Omri, I received.'

Jehu, son of Omri—in the inscriptions, *ya-hu-a habal 'hu-um-ri-i*—is believed by many Assyriologists to designate Jehu of Israel, not the son but the exterminator of the house of Omri.⁹ The Assyrians, it is supposed, were led to this erroneous appellation by the fame which Omri enjoyed among them, and which also induced them to call the kingdom of Israel, even in later times, the land of Omri—*mat 'hu-um-ri-i* or *mat bit 'hu-um-ri-i*.

^a So in Schrader's text and translation; Smith has '470,' Ménéant '460.'

⁹ King Jehu was the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi (II. Kings ix. 2), but he is generally called in the Scriptures the son of Nimshi.

The black obelisk inscription specifies Jehu's tribute as consisting of 'silver, gold, bowls of gold, vessels of gold, goblets of gold, pitchers of gold,' and similar things. The same inscription describes Shalmaneser's twenty-first campaign :

' To the cities
of Hazael of Damascus¹⁰ I went. Four of his fortresses
I took. The tribute of the Tyrians,
the Zidonians, (and) the Gebalites¹¹ I received.'

There is undoubtedly a great deal of empty brag, and perhaps of direct lying, in these Assyrian monumental relations of slaughter and rapine. Many a predatory incursion is there probably magnified into a grand campaign, and ransom received from open towns belonging to Phœnicia into tribute paid by the powerful, unconquered and unbesieged, cities of Tyre and Sidon—cities which were triumphantly to resist greater conquerors than Assurnazirpal and Shalmaneser II. Nor did the latter king, after all his boasted victories over the Syrians, ever enter the city of Damascus. Why he withdrew from before its besieged walls he wisely omits to tell. What his 'cities without number, pulled down, destroyed, burned,' may have amounted to is, perhaps, to be judged by a similar claim to glory of his son Samas-Rimmon, Samsi-Bin, or Samsi-

¹⁰ According to Sayce and Ménant ; Smith has 'Syria.'

¹¹ The people of Byblus in Phœnicia.

Vul,¹² who, in a great inscription,¹³ speaks of himself, or is made to speak, as

‘ . . . the mighty king, king of multitudes
unequalled, . . . the bearer of the sceptre
of the shrines, the descender into all lands, . . .
. . . the trampler on the world, . . .
the receiver of the tribute
and the riches of all regions.’

In that inscription he tells us, that in an expedition against the Matai—the Medes, before they formed a power, and perhaps before they possessed a city deserving the name—he destroyed and burned ‘as many as 1,200 cities’ belonging to one chief or capital city alone.¹⁴ And he tells us many things equally or almost equally false.

His son Rimmon-Nirari, Bin-Nirari, or Vul-Nirari, a contemporary of Jeroboam II. and Amos, among other achievements boasts of the following:¹⁵

‘From over the river Euphrates, Syria, and Phœnicia, the
whole of it,
Tyre, Zidon, Omri,¹⁶ Edom, and Philistia,
to over against the great sea of the setting sun, to
my feet

¹² According to Sayce, Schrader, and George Smith, respectively.

¹³ See Sayce’s rendering in *Records of the Past*, vol. i. (second edition).

¹⁴ Compare ‘*Records of the Past*,’ vol. i. p. 18, with Ménant, ‘*Annales des rois d’Assyrie*,’ p. 122.

¹⁵ See George Smith’s ‘*Assyrian Eponym Canon*,’ pp. 115, 116.

¹⁶ ‘*Mat’Huuprii*,’ or Israel.

I have subjugated, taxes and tribute over them I
fixed. To

Syria I went. Mariha, king of Syria,
in Damascus, his royal city, I besieged him ;
fear and terror of Assur, his lord, overwhelmed him and
my yoke he took,
submission he made, 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of
gold, . . .
. . . in Damascus, his royal city, in his palace, I
received.'

Whatever of this is true, and was a fact or an imminent event when Amos announced ruin to Tyre, to Israel, to Edom, to Philistia,¹⁷ serves to explain the simultaneous victories of Jeroboam II. over Syria — achieved, perhaps, at the price of a voluntary tribute to the Assyrian king — the prophet's disgust at the undisturbed tranquillity of the people of Zion and Samaria while a storm was approaching from the north, and his prediction that what had been gained 'from Hamath to the Brook of the Steppe' was going to be lost, and much more with it. It appears, however, that he spoke at a time when the peril was still distant, and discernible only by the eye of the wise — that is, before Assyria had made Damascus to bend before her ; for he only threatens Damascus, and speaks of Assyria, without ever naming her, as 'a nation' that is still to be brought on by Jehovah, for the chas-

¹⁷ See above.

tisement of his people. When Hosea, Amos's younger contemporary, harangued the people of Samaria, the connection between that capital and the conquering rulers of Assyria had long been established. He, as we shall see, repeatedly alludes to Assyria, as a ruling power.

XXVIII.

THE last three chapters of the book of Amos are different in character from the first six. The prophet relates visions :

(Amos VII.)

- (1) This the Lord Jehovah showed me:
 behold, he formed locusts,
 when the second crop began to spring up;
 and lo, there was a second crop after the king's
 mowing,
 and when they had wholly eaten up the herbage of
 the land,
 I said, 'O Lord Jehovah, forgive, I pray;
 how can Jacob stand?—he is so small.'
 Jehovah repented of this;
 'Be it not,' said Jehovah.

This the Lord Jehovah showed me:
 behold, he summoned the fire to chastise¹—
 he, the Lord Jehovah—
 and it devoured the great deep,
 and it devoured the field.

- (5) And I said, 'O Lord Jehovah, leave off, I pray;
 how can Jacob stand?—he is so small.'
 Jehovah repented of this;

¹ Literally, perhaps, 'he summoned (the fire) to chastise with fire (Keil).

‘Even this be not,’ said the Lord Jehovah.

This he showed me:

behold, the Lord stood on a wall made with a plumb-line,

holding a plumb-line in his hand.

And Jehovah said to me,

‘What seest thou, Amos?’

I answered, ‘A plumb-line;’

and the Lord said,

‘Behold, I place a plumb-line

in the midst of Israel, my people;

I will not pass by it any more.

Isaac’s high-places shall be laid waste,

and Israel’s sanctuaries destroyed,

and against Jeroboam’s house I will rise with the sword.’

Such language was too strong for the authorities to listen to with patience. Amaziah, therefore, the priest of Beth-El, where Amos declared his vision, sent this message to King Jeroboam: ‘Amos conspires against thee in the midst of the house of Israel; the land is unable to bear all his words. For thus says Amos: “Jeroboam will die by the sword, and Israel will be driven from his land into captivity.”’ And to Amos he said, ‘Seer, go and flee to the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and there prophesy; but prophesy no more at Beth-El, for it is a royal sanctuary, and a seat of royalty.’ But Amos answered, ‘I am no prophet, nor a prophet’s son; for I am a shepherd, and a plucker

of sycamore-fruit. But Jehovah took me as I followed the flock, and Jehovah told me, "Go, and prophesy to Israel, my people." And now, hear Jehovah's word :

(VII. 16, 17.)

Thou sayest, 'Prophesy not against Israel,
and preach not against the house of Isaac:'
therefore thus says Jehovah:
'Thy wife shall be a harlot in the city,
thy sons and daughters shall fall by the sword,
thy land shall be divided by the line,
thyself shalt die on impure earth,
and Israel shall be driven from his land into captivity.'

If the vision given above and the interesting historical episode attached to it are at their right place in the book—and there is no reason to assume the contrary—neither Amaziah nor Jeroboam was provoked by these extraordinary onslaughts to lay a sacrilegious hand upon the man of God from Judah. On the contrary, it seems probable that he was allowed to go on with his fiery preaching in the northern kingdom ; for against the latter he continues to inveigh, and no change of tone or topic, such as would result from a change of place or audience, is perceptible in his words, as the following will show :

(VIII.)

- (1) This the Lord Jehovah showed me:
behold, a basket of ripe fruit.

He said, 'What seest thou, Amos?'
 I answered, 'A basket of ripe fruit.'
 And Jehovah said to me,
 'Ripe is the end for Israel, my people;
 I will not pass by it any more.
 The palace songs shall be wails in that day'—
 the Lord Jehovah's utterance—
 'plenty of carcasses,
 thrown out everywhere, in silence!'

Hear, ye who pant for the needy,
 pant to destroy the meek of the earth;
 (5) who say, 'When will the new moon be over,
 that we may sell grain?
 the sabbath, that we may bring out corn?'—
 making the ephah small, and the shekel large,
 and falser still the scales of deceit,
 so as to buy the poor for money,
 and the needy for a pair of shoes²—
 'the refuse of corn we will sell.'
 Jehovah swears by Jacob's glory:³
 'If I ever forget any of their deeds. . . .'
 Shall not the land tremble for this,
 and every dweller on it mourn,
 and all of it swell like the Nile,
 and heave and sink like Egypt's stream?
 'In that day'—
 the Lord Jehovah's utterance—
 'I make the sun go down at noon,

² See above, XXVI., note 2.

³ *by Jacob's glory*] By himself; cf. 'Israel's power' (I. Sam. xv. 29),
 and Am. iv. 2, vi. 8.

and I darken the earth in the bright day;
 (10) and turn your feasts into mourning,
 and all your songs into dirges;
 and put sack-cloth upon all loins,
 and baldness upon every head;
 and make it like mourning for an only one,
 and the end of it like the bitter day.’

‘Behold, days are coming’—
 the Lord Jehovah’s utterance—
 ‘when I send a famine into the land:
 not a famine for bread,
 nor a thirst for water,
 but for hearing the words of Jehovah;
 and men wander from sea to sea,
 and from the north to the east,
 roaming about in search of Jehovah’s word,
 but find it not.’

In that day
 the fair maidens and the youths will faint for thirst.
 They who swear by Samaria’s guilt,⁴
 and say, ‘As thy God lives, O Dan, . . . ’⁵
 ‘As there exists a way to Beer-Sheba, . . . ’⁶
 they will fall, never to rise again.

⁴ *by Samaria’s guilt*] By the idols of the kings of Samaria. If a special idol is meant, it is either the golden calf at Beth-El—the principal seat of worship in the south of the kingdom, as Dan, on the Phœnician border, was in the north (I. Kings xii. 28, 29)—or Asherah, whose image stood in Samaria, even after the reign of Jehu (II. Kings xiii. 6). *Ashmah*, ‘guilt,’ as has been remarked, may thus allude to Asherah.

⁵ See the preceding note.

⁶ ‘As . . . Beer-Sheba’] According to the Masoretic text—the

The visions of Amos are probably of a date later by some years than the date of the oracles with which he started 'two years before the earthquake,' for they seem repeatedly to allude to that event, the terrors of which, perhaps augmented by volcanic eruptions, were long remembered.⁷ Such allusions can be discovered above in the pictures of the fire summoned to chastise and devouring the great deep, of the land trembling and heaving and sinking, and of the sun going down at noon and the earth darkening in bright day; and at least equally distinct allusions are noticeable in the following:

(IX.)

- (1) I saw the Lord standing by the altar;
 he said, 'Strike the column-top,
 so that the thresholds shake,
 and smash them over the heads of all—
 the remaining I will slay with the sword;
 not a fugitive shall flee away,

phrase alluding to the pilgrimages to Beer-Sheba already spoken of (v. 5). The words *הי דרך* are, however, probably a corruption of *הי ארניך*, or of *הי דניך*, perhaps a popular phrase, in which the א of *ארניך* was swallowed as the י is in *באר* (for *ביאר*) and the ע in *ונשקה* (for *ונשקעה*) in verse 8 of the same chapter. (Cf. *אנהנו* and *נחנו*, for *נענו*, Mic. i. 10; *הסורים*, for *האסורים*, Eccl. iv. 14; *הרמים*, for *הארמים*, II. Chr. xxii. 5; and *הדר*, for *אֶהֱרָא*, Ezek. xxxiii. 30.) Our verse will thus have contained this perfect parallelism: 'As thy God lives, O Dan, . . .', 'As thy Lord lives, Beer-Sheba, . . .' (The Sept. has twice, *ὁ θεός σου*.)

⁷ See Zech. xiv. 5.

not a survivor escape.
 If they dig into hell,
 thence my hand takes them;
 if they climb up to heaven,
 thence I bring them down;
 if they conceal themselves on Carmel's head,⁸
 I search, and take them thence ;
 if they hide from my sight on the floor of the sea,
 thence I command the serpent to bite them;
 and if they go into captivity before their foes,
 thence I command the sword to slay them—
 I set my eye upon them for evil,
 not for good.'

- (5) And that is the Lord Jehovah of Hosts,
 at whose touch the earth melts,
 and all who dwell on it mourn,
 and all of it swells like the Nile,
 and it sinks like Egypt's stream;
 who builds his roof-chambers in heaven,
 and has founded his vault over the earth;
 who summons the waters of the sea,
 and pours them over the surface of the earth—
 Jehovah is his name.

'Are ye not as the sons of the Ethiopians to me,
 ye sons of Israel?'—

Jehovah's utterance—

'Have I not brought up Israel from the land of
 Egypt,
 and the Philistines from Caphtor,⁹

⁸ Which juts out into the sea, south of Acre.

⁹ According to most modern commentators, Crete; according to

and the Syrians from Kir ?¹⁰
Behold, the eyes of the Lord Jehovah
are upon this sinful kingdom,
and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth,
but I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob'—
Jehovah's utterance.
'For, behold, I command,
and the house of Israel is shaken among all nations,
as shaking is done with a sieve,
so that not a grain falls to the earth;
by the sword shall die all the sinners of my people,
they who say, "The evil will not overtake us or get
before us."'

To these prophetic threatenings are attached, as consolatory words at the conclusion of the book, a few verses composed in a spirit and a style widely different from the spirit and style of Amos, and expressive of conditions and hopes little in accord with what we know of the circumstances of Judah and Israel in the times of Uzziah and Jeroboam II. Those verses bear a strong resemblance to the concluding portions both of Joel and Zephaniah, and especially to that of the former book, a somewhat different duplicate of a verse of which is also to be found, entirely unconnected, at the very head of the Ebers and Dietrich, a region of northern Egypt. See note II, at the end of the volume.

¹⁰ See note E, at the end of the volume.—The meaning of the verse seems to be: The exodus from Egypt proves no special privilege; other nations, and Cushites ('Ethiopians') among them, like the Philistines, have achieved similar migrations under divine guidance.

book of Amos.¹¹ It is barely possible that a different version of the verse in Joel was originally attached to the end of that book as a note, and was thence transferred by mistake to the head of the first page of Amos, which follows in the collection ; but it is probable that the consolatory portion added to the stern prophecies of the shepherd from Tekoa was intentionally placed there by one of the collectors of the Minor Prophets, in order to wind up the book with predictions of lasting prosperity and peace. Somewhat similar insertions have been made at the end of various books of the Scriptures.¹² In this case a preceding piece of Joel, perhaps also a duplicate, seems to have been made use of by the collector, who possibly doubted its authorship.

¹¹ Compare Joel iv. 16 (iii. 16) with Am. i. 2.

¹² See note I, at the end of the volume.

XXIX.

THE shepherd from Judah who came to Beth-El in Israel, in the reign of Jeroboam II., and revealed a vision in which Jehovah commanded the breaking of the great altar of that royal city, was, some two centuries later, transformed in a legend for the people into an unnamed prophet from Judah who made a similar announcement, at the same place, under Jeroboam I.¹—that is, about a century and a half before Amos. The story² runs thus : Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like the feast that was celebrated in Judah, and himself officiated at the altar in Beth-El, sacrificing to one of the calves that he had made. Now, as he had ascended the steps of the altar, to burn incense, there suddenly came a man of God from Judah, by the word of Jehovah, and cried against the altar, ‘O altar, altar, thus says Jehovah, “Behold, a child shall be born to the house of David, Josiah by name, and he shall offer on thee the priests of the high-places who burn incense on thee ; and men’s bones shall be burnt on thee.” ’ And he also gave a sign, saying, ‘This is

¹ See E. Meier, ‘Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Hebräer,’ pp. 274, 275.

² I. Kings xii. 32–xiii. 6.

the sign that it is Jehovah's word:³ behold, the altar will be rent, and the ashes which are on it will be poured out.' When King Jeroboam heard this he stretched out his hand, exclaiming, 'Seize him!' But the hand became stiff, so that he could not take it back. And the altar was rent, and the ashes were poured out, and the king's hand was restored to him only at the prophet's intercession with Jehovah. This legend of the transformed Amos is supplemented⁴ by a very strange story of the end of the unnamed prophet, which reveals the narrator's exceedingly crude notions of the workings of the spirit of Jehovah, and, at the conclusion, also his ignorance of history, inasmuch as he makes one of the actors in his tale speak of Samaria, a city which was built in the fourth reign after Jeroboam.⁵

That mythical man of God from Judah is as unlike the shepherd from Tekoa as the prophets of the historical books of the Bible, from Joshua to Chronicles, generally are unlike the prophets whose writings have been preserved. Miracle-working and miraculously precise revelations of the future form the main element in the stories: the work of the Canonical prophets is exhortation, warning, and comforting, based on universal principles

³ Literally, *that Jehorah has spoken* (De Wette, Thenius), not *which Jehovah has spoken*.

⁴ I. Kings xiii. 7-32.

⁵ See I. Kings xvi. 23, 24.

and vaguely adapted to the present and future.⁶ There are exceptions on the one side and on the other, but they are insignificant, and the distinctive features are as striking as possible. Amos, though probably the oldest, and surely one of the oldest, of the prophets who left us more than a fragment or a piece of uncertain date,⁷ is an admirable specimen of the Canonical class. He does not, like Samuel, address his sinful audience thus: 'Now stand and see this great thing, which Jehovah does before your eyes: is it not wheat harvest to-day? I will call to Jehovah, and he will send thunder and rain; that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great.'⁸ He does not, like Elijah, step before the king of Samaria with such words: 'As Jehovah, the God of Israel, lives, before whom I stand, there shall be no dew nor rain these years, except according to my word;'⁹ nor does he, like him, challenge the prophets of Baal to a contest of prayer in which fire from heaven is to decide whether that god of the Phœnicians or Jehovah is the God.¹ He does not claim the power, which Elisha exercised, of dividing a river, healing unwholesome water and deadly

⁶ For full light on the subject, see chapters iii., iv., ix., x., xi., and xii. of Kuenen's 'Prophets and Prophecy in Israel.'

⁷ Some critics consider Joel, and others Obadiah, the oldest of the Canonical prophets.

⁸ I. Sam. xii. 16, 17.

⁹ I. Kings xvii. 1.

¹⁰ I. Kings xviii.

pottage, calling out bears for vengeance, raising the dead, curing and inflicting leprosy, or smiting with blindness." He makes no allusion whatever to any miraculous power imparted to man. All that he claims for himself and other prophets, as a distinction, is the power and the readiness to hear and understand when Jehovah speaks. 'The Lord Jehovah does naught without revealing his secret to the prophets, his servants. . . . The Lord Jehovah has spoken—who should not prophesy?' Nay, he even protests against the appellation 'prophet' as personally applicable to him. He is 'neither a prophet nor a prophet's son'—that is, neither a member nor a young associate of a prophetic guild. He has nothing in common with prophets by trade. He announces Jehovah's words with the fullest of convictions; but it is not an angel that has brought it to him, nor has the Lord spoken to him mouth to mouth. Has he heard Jehovah's voice in a state of ecstasy, in a trance? He believes it perhaps, he does not state it. The visions which he relates are mere figures, symbolic expressions of natural conceptions. He knows the word of God, for he knows what God, by his very essence, is bound to speak. When great national crimes strike his eyes, he hears a divine voice crying, 'Woe to the nation,' and he announces woe. 'The Lord Jehovah swears by his holiness'—the destruction of the wicked and

¹¹ II. Kings ii., iv.-vi.

arrogant is vouchsafed by his holiness. It is an evil time, but some reflect in silence, and the people may repent: Amos hears Jehovah saying to the house of Israel, 'Seek me, and live.' The powerful go on oppressing and extorting: 'shall not the land tremble for this, and every dweller on it mourn?' And there is no escape from the vengeance of the Lord: his omnipotence dominates the bottom of the sea, heaven, and hell; the earth melts at his touch. But though his eyes are on the sinful kingdom for destruction, the just—this is Jehovah's utterance, it must be this—the just shall escape; not a good grain shall fall to the ground when the house of Israel is shaken in the sieve. When is destruction to come, and salvation when? Unlike the men whose false pictures credulity or pious deception wrote into the books of Israelitish history—distorting it to the confusion of the human mind—Amos predicts no precise dates, has no vision of a name—Josiah or other—has no definite future; his vague outlines agree with his image of God, and he has no other revelations to make. If he alludes to Assyria, that power stands menacing beyond the border. If he threatens deportation beyond Damascus, it is a thing that is naturally to be expected. If he predicts a dire fate to the priest Amaziah and his household, it is an outburst of indignation in the figurative form of a curse. Was the prediction fulfilled? Evidently not; but neither was it meant to be fulfilled. What Amos expressed by it was

that Amaziah, by serving the tyrant of Samaria and the idol of Beth-El, deserved such a fate. Truly, were all the rest of the Old Testament lost, our idea of Hebrew prophecy, drawn from the little book of Amos alone, would be much higher than the idea of it which we receive from the whole of the Scriptures, in which, side by side with the sublime addresses of Amos, and Hosea, and Micah, and Isaiah, and kindred men, so much room has been given to popular stories of an opposite character.

And what a historical revelation would that little book alone be to us, if all the rest of Hebrew literature were lost! It carries us back to the beginning of the eighth century B.C., into a south-western corner of Asia. At that time, as we know from other sources, the divinities of Asia Minor, like those of the neighboring Hellas, were numberless, and the wisest men, perhaps, in those countries believed the highest of their gods and goddesses to be manlike beings, ruled by passions and whims, by lust, envy, and hatred. Egypt swarmed with horrid personifications of deified powers of nature, and her abominations were countless. Two rulers of the then most powerful Semitic nation, the Assyrian kings Shalmaneser II. and his son—called Samas-Rimmon or otherwise—had but recently erected monuments in the inscriptions of which the former invoked Assur, ‘king of all the assembly of the great gods’; Anu, ‘king of the spirits of heaven and earth’; Bel, ‘the father of the gods, the deter-

miner of destinies'; Hea, 'king of the abyss of chaos'; the Sun-God, 'the judge of mankind'; and Istar, 'the queen of war and battle';¹² and the latter a god,¹³ 'first-born of Bel,' 'offspring of the sanctuary,' and 'receiver of the instructions of Anu and the Great Goddess.'¹⁴ The altars of Sidon and Tyre, erected to similar divinities, reeked with human blood. In the land of the Hebrews themselves the Phœnician Baal and the Phœnician Asherah had fanatical votaries. And in the midst of such surroundings that little book shows us a man addressing an assemblage in a royal city of the small kingdom of Israel, and exhorting it to repentance and abhorrence of evil in the name of a God whose attributes are omnipotence and holiness—Jehovah is his name. That God has no associates, works not through spirits or angels, and demands no temple or altar. He abhors the people's feasts and holy gatherings, their burnt-offerings and flour-offerings, their songs and harp-music. All he asks of them is to 'let justice flow as waters, and righteousness as a perennial stream; to hate evil and love the good.' He detests iniquity and profligacy, avenges the meek and down-trodden, and will destroy the wielders of power who 'turn right into poison, and the

¹² 'Records of the Past,' vol. iii. p. 83.

¹³ His name is variously read as Adar, Nin-ip, Bar, and Ussur (Sayce).

¹⁴ 'Records of the Past,' vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

fruit of righteousness into wormwood.' He rules all the nations, and decrees the doom of Moab for an inhuman crime against Edom; and if Israel is his chosen people, it is not a favorite enjoying privileges, but a follower bound to stricter observance of duty, and subject to sterner reprobation and punishment. The man who speaks in his name—often rendering his words as if the speaker were merely an instrument—appeals to no other title but his inner light and feeling; he relies for protection neither on heavenly miracles nor on earthly favor; in his denunciations he assails the highest most fiercely; he promises no paradise, and threatens with no hell; his only weapon is the awe which the image of his God is apt to inspire; his means of persuasion, the touching of the conscience with the burning word of truth; if priests and princes frown, he is ready to seal his word with his blood. But he is spared martyrdom. The people and their rulers are evidently better than he paints them in his holy passion.

When did this high idealism of the Hebrew mind begin to germinate? How was it nurtured, and how did it grow? Was it a shoot on which exceptional intellects bestowed an exceptional power of expansion? Or was it the slow product of a tribal instinct, sharpened by antagonism? We search in vain for answers in the prophetic literature of the people, for that opens with the ideal development in its culmination. Amos is in purity of faith and

strength of sentiment, as in boldness of expression and clearness of diction, the equal of Isaiah, though surpassed by him in breadth of view, vivacity of spirit, and poetical loftiness. Hosea and Micah are between them in time, but one century embraces them all. Nor are the historical books of the Hebrews apt to satisfy our curiosity, for they, as we have them, are of later origin, and thoroughly pervaded by a superstitious belief in the past which mocks at all inquiry about ethical or religious development. According to them the Hebrews of the remotest age were the models of the purest virtue, and the receivers of divine revelation, and the history of revelation reaches its culminating point in Moses, 'like whom there arose not since a prophet in Israel.' There are, of course, both in the prophetic and the historical books, single rays of light facilitating rational speculation on the subject; but to collect them into a focus, systematize the inquiry, and present the results is more than falls within the scope of this book. It belongs to the wider sphere of general Israelitish history, or to a special branch of it.

XXX.

Amos speaks as a man who announces the word of God: the prophet is not lost in the sender, though the utterances of the one and the other are often blended together without a distinguishing mark. Amos's contemporary, Hosea, the son of Beerī, gives us only some introductory narratives as his own words: the rest is 'the word of Jehovah' in all but unbroken streams, the prophet disappearing almost completely. The visions of Amos are openly figurative presentations of prophetic thought and abstraction, poetical images apt to enlighten as symbols, and totally unapt to create an illusion of reality. Hosea's parabolical introductions are narratives of common life, bearing a deceptive semblance of truth. These characteristics tend to show that the younger prophet was as such less natural than the older, or, which is more probable, that in the writings of the former we have elaborations intended to be read—in public—and in the work of the latter mostly half-improvised addresses, subsequently condensed and cast into a more or less poetical shape. What is certain is that Hosea fully equals Amos in genuineness and intensity of feeling, that he surpasses him in expressions of sympathy and tenderness, and that his abhorrence of falsehood and hypocrisy is a burning passion.

In Amos, though the man speaks, we always hear the judging God, ready to avenge the sufferings inflicted on the meek and lowly, as infractions of his grand universal system of justice: in Hosea, through whom God alone speaks, the divine rigor is tempered by the human warmth of love and compassion. Both prophets address their words chiefly to the people of the northern Hebrew kingdom, but Amos sees it before him in the time of its greatest strength and prosperity, and Hosea in its beginning and gradually advancing decay. The former was a Judæan, as he himself tells us; the latter was most probably a man of the northern kingdom, as his allusions to things and localities amply indicate.

The first verse of the book of Hosea is this: 'The word of Jehovah that came to Hosea, the son of Beerî, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, king of Israel.' The superscription may be the prophet's own, but the chronological addition to it is probably the insertion of a late collector, and hardly accurate. The latter is already somewhat suspicious on the ground of its being, as far as the kings of Judah are concerned, literally identical with the chronological statement prefixed to the prophecies of Isaiah,¹ and, besides, incomplete in its synchronism, for the reign of Jeroboam coincides only with that of

¹ Is. i. 1.

Uzziah. But a stronger argument against its authenticity is found by critics in the contents of the book, which do not indicate an extension of Hosea's activity into the latest period of the history of the kingdom of Israel, during which Ahaz and Hezekiah reigned in Judah. Certainty, however, on this point cannot be attained, as Hosea's allusions to political events and conditions, though numerous, are mostly obscure, as is also to a great extent his diction in the main portions of his book. That he began to utter his oracles as early as the reign of Jeroboam II., as stated, is almost evident from the opening chapters, in which a very flourishing condition of the kingdom is allegorically depicted as waning or soon to wane, such as it never enjoyed after the death of that monarch. That the latter chapters reflect the history of a long, subsequent period of distraction and disasters is undeniable. We shall, therefore, hardly go amiss if we assume that the time on which Hosea reflected from his own observation embraced, chiefly or exclusively, some three or four of the early and middle decades of the eighth century B.C., according to Biblical chronology. The history of that time, in the wider extent, is as follows :

The last years of the long reign of Jeroboam II. may be presumed to have been years of enervating prosperity, such as continues to flow from the achievements of an earlier, more vigorous generation, and is destined to be gradually exhausted by

excess or suddenly destroyed by unexpected reverses. Such a presumption can rationally be based on the previous conditions, the king's declining age, and the disastrous events which followed his death. Many expositors, founding their opinion on a chronological discrepancy in the Biblical statements,² believe that Jeroboam's power was not directly inherited by his son Zachariah, and that an anarchical interregnum of eleven or twelve years preceded the latter's accession to the throne. This may or may not have been the case, but all that we are told³ of the following period is a story of bloody convulsions, which rapidly precipitated the state toward the verge of ruin. Zachariah, after a reign of only

² 'The statements that Jeroboam II. reigned 41 years (2 K. xiv. 23) after the 15th year of Amaziah, who reigned 29 years, and that Jeroboam's son Zachariah came to the throne in the 38th year of Uzziah (2 K. xv. 8), cannot be reconciled without supposing that there was an interregnum of 11 years between Jeroboam and his son Zachariah. And almost all chronologists accept this as a fact, although it is not mentioned in the Bible. Some chronologists, who regard an interregnum as intrinsically improbable after the prosperous reign of Jeroboam, prefer the supposition that the number 41 in 2 K. xiv. 23 ought to be changed to 51, and that the number 27 in xv. 1 should be changed to 14, and that a few other corresponding alterations should be made.' (Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' art. 'Israel, Kingdom of.') Oppert defends the correctness of the conflicting numbers on the supposition of a twelve years' interruption in Jeroboam's reign, caused by foreign invasion, and supports his view by an ingenious conjecture respecting Is. vii. 8. (See his 'Salomon et ses successeurs,' pp. 32-37.)

³ II. Kings xv.

six months, fell a victim of a conspiracy, and with him the house of Jehu ended in blood, as it had arisen. The head of the conspiracy, Shallum, was raised to the throne, but kept it only one month. Menahem, probably a commander of Zachariah's army, marched against him from Tirzah, victoriously entered Samaria, slew the usurper, and made himself king. A town⁴ near Tirzah, which refused to open its gates to Menahem, was taken, and all its inhabitants, and with them those of the surrounding district, were put to the sword, amid horrible atrocities. During this reign, which lasted a little over ten years, the king of Assyria entered the country, and received from Menahem a thousand talents of silver, for which he promised to support him on the throne, and soon withdrew. That immense ransom or bribe Menahem extorted from his subjects by imposing a contribution of fifty silver shekels upon every man of wealth—that is to say, on sixty thousand people, for the talent contained three thousand shekels. Menahem was succeeded by Pekahiah, his son, who, after two years, was murdered in his palace by his captain Pekah, the son of Remaliah, and the murderer reigned in his stead. There are indications in the partly ill-worded—or, more probably, ill-preserved—narrative of II. Kings, here abridged, that in all these violent

⁴ Instead of '*Tiphshah*' (תִּפְשָׁה), which is the Hebrew name of Thapsacus on the Euphrates, Thenius reads *Tappuah* (תַּפְּוּא).

changes a body-guard of Gileadites, men of the valiant tribe of Gad, acted a very conspicuous part.⁵ That the kings of Samaria should have sought to awe the proud Ephraimites into obedience by a troop of well-paid mercenaries from beyond the Jordan is but natural, and finally the time had come for the Gileadite 'pretorians' to seize and give away the crown. During all this time two kings occupied the throne of Judah: Uzziah, or Azariah, and his son Jotham, both of whom are stated in Kings to have done 'what was right in the sight of Jehovah, . . . save that the high-places were not removed,' on which 'the people sacrificed and burned incense,' in disregard of the claims of the Solomonic temple to be the only legitimate sacrificial spot—if such claims were, indeed, raised by the priests of Jerusalem at so early a date.

⁵ The name of Shallum's father is Jabesh, which is also the name of a town in Gilead, or else Shallum himself is designated by 'son of Jabesh' as a Jabeshite, though against all grammatical analogy in the Scriptures (see note J, at the end of the volume). The name of Menahem's father is Gadi (the Gadite), if *ben-gādī*, with which *b'nē gīl'ādīm* in the same chapter (verse 25) is to be compared, does not designate Menahem himself as a Gadite. Pekah, in attacking Pekahiah, was accompanied by fifty Gileadites. The name of one of the two men, probably officers of the royal guard, who are mentioned as slain with Pekahiah is Argob, which is also the name of a district adjoining Gilead. The name of the other is Arich (the lion), which reminds us of the Gadites who joined David, according to I. Chron. xii. 8, 'valiant warriors . . . with faces of lions. (See Hitzig on Hos. v. 8, and Thenius on II. Kings xv. 25.)

Uzziah's reign lasted half a century, but part of the time Jotham acted as regent for his father, who was stricken with leprosy. The great earthquake mentioned in Amos⁶ and Zechariah⁷ was probably the most grievous calamity that befell Judah during this period, which seems to have been the most prosperous in the history of that kingdom, though we may not accept as perfectly exact all that II. Chronicles⁸ tells us of Uzziah's achievements in war and peace. While Ephraim—as the northern Hebrew kingdom was now frequently designated from its leading tribe—was battling with the declining power of Damascus, cringing before the Assyrian conquerors, and writhing with intestine convulsions, Judah wisely abstained from harassing the brother state, was successful in petty contests with non-Hebrew neighbors, and enjoyed the fruits of unquestioned dynastic legitimacy.

Hosea, in his first introductory narrative, speaks of himself in the third person: Jehovah said to him, 'Go, get thee a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom; for the land runs away from Jehovah in whoredom.' He went and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim,⁹ and she bore him a son.

⁶ i. 1.

⁷ xiv. 5.

⁸ xxvi.

⁹ *Gomer* . . . *Diblaim*] Symbolical names, expressive of ripeness and sensuality. Hitzig's explanatory remarks are striking: 'Da גמל zur Reife bringen, daher auch entzöhen erst aus גמר

Jehovah then said to him, 'Name him Jezreel, for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel¹⁰ on the house of Jehu, and put an end to the kingdom of the house of Israel; and in that day I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel.' Gomer next bore a daughter, and Jehovah said to Hosea, 'Name her Unpitied, for I will not pity any more the house of Israel, so that I should keep on forgiving them. But I will have mercy on the house of Judah, and I will save them through Jehovah, their God, and not save them through bow and sword and battle, and horses and horsemen.' Gomer bore another boy, and Jehovah said to Hosea, 'Name him Not-my-People, for ye are not my people, and I belong not to you.' Then follows the application of the allegory to the apostate nation, so foolishly enamored of strange gods:

rollenden sich abwandelt (Ps. 57, 3. vgl. 13. 6.): so scheint Kraft der Verbindung mit רבלים Gomer das Gegentheil von בכר (vgl. רבלין Jes. 18, 5.) zu sein. Mit גמר würde aber die reife, mannbare Dirne bezeichnet; gleichwie גסר vom Kinde gesagt wird (s. auch Hi. 15, 33.), und Cap. 3, 1. אשה den Verf. auf אששה bringt. רבלים . . . scheint Kraft des Numerus und der Bedeutung von רבלין ein Bild für אשדים zu sein. Wie Weinstock und Feigenbaum beisammenstehn, so führte die Traube auf die Feigen; und wenn die רבלין da und dort neben die צמקים treten, so ist gerade bei Hosea צמקים ein Attribut der Brüste Cap. 9, 14.'

¹⁰ The blood shed by Jehu at Jezreel, in exterminating the house of Ahab.

(HOSEA II.)

(4 [2]) 'Plead ye with your mother, plead;

for she is not my wife,

and I am not her husband:

let her put away her whoredom from her face,

and her adultery from between her breasts;

(5 [3]) lest I strip her naked,

set her as in the day of her birth,

put her¹¹ as into a wilderness,¹²

place her as in a desert,

and let her die with thirst.

Nor have I mercy on her children,

for they are children of whoredom;

their mother practised harlotry,

she who bore them acted shamefully.

She said, "I will go after my lovers,

who give me my bread and my water,

my wool and flax,

my oil and drinks."

Therefore, behold, I hedge up thy way¹³ with
thorns—

¹¹ *put her*] Heb. וישם שם את האדם; cf. וישם שם את האדם (Gen. ii. 8).

¹² *as into a wilderness*] Heb. במדבר, for כמדבר, as in ויליכם במדבר (Ps. cvi. 9). (See note K, at the end of the volume.) The wilderness into which Israel, then a new-born nation, was led by Moses is here alluded to; cf. verse 17 (15) 'as in the days of her youth, as in the day when she came up from the land of Egypt.'

¹³ *thy way*] Heb. דרכך, probably by mistake for דרכה, *her way*; see the context.

I form a wall before her,
and she shall not find her paths.
She will run after her lovers,
but not overtake them;
seek them, but find not;
and then say, "Let me go and return
to my former husband,
for I was happier then than now."

(10 [8]) Nor does she know
that *I* gave her the corn, the must, and the oil;
and gave her plenty of silver,
and of gold, which they made into Baal.¹⁴
Therefore I will take back my corn in its time,
and my must in its season,
and snatch away my wool and my flax,
which covered her nakedness.
I then uncover her shame
in the sight of her lovers,
and none rescues her from my hand.
I put an end to all her revelry,
to her feasts, new-moons, and sabbaths,
and all her festive times.
I lay waste her vine and her fig-tree,
of which she said, "I hold these as rewards,
given me by my lovers;"
I turn them into a forest,
and the beasts of the field shall devour them.

(15 [13]) And I visit upon her the days of the Baals,
when she burned incense to them,

¹⁴ *Baal*] Here an expression for idols in general, including the golden calves (Hitzig, Keil).

adorned herself with her ring and necklace,
 walked after her lovers,
 and forgot *me*'—
 Jehovah's utterance.
 'Therefore, behold, I allure her,
 and lead her into the wilderness,
 and speak to her heart;
 I give her her vineyards from thence,
 and the Valley of Grief¹⁵ for an entrance of
 hope;¹⁶
 and she responds there as in the days of her
 youth,
 as in the day when she came up from the land of
 Egypt.'
 'In that day'—
 Jehovah's utterance—
 'thou wilt call, "My husband,"
 and no more call to me, "My lord!"'¹⁷
 I remove from her mouth¹⁸ the names of the
 Baals—
 never more to be mentioned by their name.

¹⁵ In the original, *'emek* (valley of) *'ākhōr*, according to Josh. vii. 24-26 a valley near Jericho, which received its name from the stoning there of Achan (*'āklūn*), whose sacrilegious theft had brought grief upon Israel.

¹⁶ A new beginning, under happier auspices, is here promised to the repentant nation: vineyards shall blossom on the very border of the desert, and the Valley of Grief become a pleasant defile leading to the land of bliss.

¹⁷ Heb. *ba'ālī*, which signifies both *my (marital) lord* and *my Baal*.

¹⁸ *from her mouth*] Heb. מפיה, probably by mistake for מפיך, *from thy mouth*.

- (20 [18]) I make a covenant for the people,¹⁹ in that day,
 with the beasts of the field,
 and the birds of heaven,
 and the creeping creatures of the earth;
 and bow and sword and battle
 I crush out of the land,
 and make men²⁰ rest in security.
 And I betroth thee to me for ever ;
 I betroth thee in righteousness and justice,
 in mercy and compassion;
 I betroth thee in faithfulness,
 and thou shalt recognize Jehovah.’
 ‘ In that day I respond ’—
 Jehovah’s utterance—
 ‘ I respond to heaven,
 and it responds to the earth,
 and the earth responds to corn, wine, and oil,
 and these respond to Jezreel.’²¹
- (25 [23]) And I sow this²² for myself in the land,
 and I pity Unpitied,
 and say to Not-my-People,

¹⁹ *for the people*] Literally, *for them*.

²⁰ *men*] Literally, *them*.

²¹ This is a picture of cosmic harmony. The valley of Jezreel asks its seeds and plants to germinate and bud ; they call to the earth for its juices ; the earth implores heaven for dew and rain ; heaven prays to God for the word which unlocks its bounties ; and God responds in mercy.

²² *this*] Literally, *her*, Jezreel, here representing the nation ; the meaning of the fertile valley’s name, *God sows*, is here beautifully alluded to (Hitzig).

“My people thou art,”
and he says, “My God.”’

And to this closely attaches itself the following, which is obviously misplaced in the book, and is a fit conclusion to the narrative and prophecy, winding them up, as it does, with a promise of divine forgiveness and blessing and of happy reunion under one legitimate head, and with a laconically powerful call to the people of Judah to receive the returning tribes of Israel with genuine brotherly love :

(II. 1-3 [I. 10, 11, II. 1].)

‘Then the multitude of the sons of Israel
shall be as the sand of the sea,
which cannot be measured nor counted;
and then, instead of their being told,
“Ye are not my people,”
this shall be said to them:
“Sons of the living God.”’²³
And the sons of Judah and the sons of Israel
shall gather together,
and appoint themselves one head,

²³ *the living God*] Heb. אֱלֹהֵי, for which, however, אֱלֹהֵי, *my* God, ought apparently to be substituted, the meaning of the sentence being: Judah, who formerly spurned the seceded ten tribes as not belonging to his people, will now recognize them as the children of his own God, and therefore brethren in the best sense. Compare עַמִּי and אֱלֹהֵי at the end of ch. ii.

and march onward from the land;²⁴
 for great is the day of Jezreel.—
 Say ye to your brothers, “My people;”
 and to your sisters, “Pitied.”’

But that great day, in which the bow of Israel was to be broken for the benefit of Judah, who was then to clasp to his bosom the brothers who had gone astray, never dawned. The house of Jehu may possibly have fallen by blows struck in the valley of Jezreel, but it was a conspirator who reaped the fruits of the victory, and the bow of Israel was broken much later, and for ever, by the Assyrian: the reunion of Judah and Israel remained an unfulfilled dream. Hosea probably cherished that dream—to him an expectation based on the love of Jehovah to his people—to the end of his days; the last chapter of his book is radiant with tender hope for Ephraim. But the latter parts of the book show that he long survived the day which was to restore the throne of David, both for Judah and Israel, on the ruins of the house of Jehu, crumbled at Jezreel. And if he himself, as is

²⁴ To the conquest of the lands of their hostile neighbors, their own being insufficient for their prodigiously increased multitudes. Ewald compares Is. xi. 13, 14, and Mic. ii. 12, 13. יַעֲלֶה, in the verse before us, is used, like עֲלָה in Mic. ii. 13, in the sense of *marching up to battle*, without regard to geographical altitude; יֵרֵד, in the sense of *descending to battle*, equally disregards the location of the battle-field; in I. Sam. xxix., therefore, לֹא יֵרֵד עִמָּנוּ בַּמִּלְחָמָה (verse 4) and לֹא יַעֲלֶה עִמָּנוּ בַּמִּלְחָמָה (verse 9) are interchangeable expressions.

generally and reasonably assumed, formed his collection of prophecies into a whole, the fact that he left the unfulfilled prediction of the day of Jezreel unrevised is an illustration — among many others — of the manner in which the prophets viewed their foretellings in the name of Jehovah: The details of prophecy were not meant to be understood in their literal sense; only a general idea was inculcated, and a vague vista exhibited, in holy earnest. The ‘word of God,’ as we find it in the prophetic canon, was an announcement inspired by the prophet’s conceptions of God and the divine fitness of things; but only what was general in it was uttered as irresistibly true: the particulars were consequences, drawn from fundamental tenets and special circumstances, but drawn with the license of an orator or a poet. To err in particulars was neither to be deceived nor to deceive; it shook neither the prophet’s convictions nor the people’s confidence in his mission. Allegorical images and poetical diction well suited such unveilings of the future.

In the second narrative, which forms the third chapter, Hosea speaks in the first person: ‘Jehovah said to me, “Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress; as Jehovah loves the children of Israel, while they turn to other gods, and delight in grape-cakes.”’²⁵ And I acquired her

²⁵ *grape-cakes*] Heb. אֲשִׁישֵׁי עֵנָבִים, which is, however, an obvious corruption of אֲשִׁישֵׁי עֵנָבִים, love-cakes (Dr. S. Adler).

for fifty pieces of silver and a homer and a lethekh²⁶ of barley. And I said to her, "A long time thou must sit for me: not act the harlot, nor belong to a man; and so I will be to thee." For the children of Israel will sit a long time without king and prince, without sacrifice²⁷ and statue, without ephod²⁸ and teraphim:²⁹ afterward the children of Israel will return, and seek Jehovah, their God, and David, their king; and they will flock trembling to Jehovah, and to his bliss in the latter days.'

This narrative may be the allegorical picture of the interregnum after the death of Jeroboam II., if such an interregnum there was. It may, less literally, describe the period of the successive king-murders and usurpations, during which no king or prince or priest was deemed legitimate, and the last hope of the true friends of the people was in a reunion with Judah—a hope, however, the realization of which now appeared remote, a bliss of late days. Those who favor the former view naturally see in the narrative an epilogue to the first two chapters, which form, perhaps, a little work in

²⁶ Measures.

²⁷ Graetz ('Geschichte der Juden,' vol. ii. part i. p. 96) substitutes מִזְבֵּחַ, altar, for זֶבֶח, sacrifice.

²⁸ *ephod*] A sacred vestment worn by priests when delivering oracles. In the priestly service as prescribed in Exodus it was a shoulder-dress of the high-priest, to which was attached the breast-plate with the Urim and Tummin.

²⁹ *teraphim*] Household idols, formed in human shape, and worshipped as oracular deities.

themselves, widely different in style from the larger half of the book ; for this larger division does not reflect a state of anarchy ‘without a king and prince,’ but lawlessness under successive usurpers, under kings and princes not deserving recognition. But if the theory of an interregnum is discarded as contrary to the plain, though chronologically incorrect, account of II. Kings, the second narrative appears a fit introduction to the long string of prophetic rebukes, exhortations, and elegiac effusions which follows, just as the first narrative introduces the rebuke beginning, ‘Plead ye with your mother.’ Like this piece, the opening exhortation of the larger division begins with a controversy with the nation, and, like it, too, the last ends with promises of divine mercy and blessings. The external arrangements of the two unequal parts would thus be perfectly analogous. Nor are the differences in style and extent, and partly also in tenor, inexplicable. For in the first part we probably possess a comparatively youthful and fugitive composition, treating of one subject—apostasy—in a hopeful tone and therefore smooth language ; and in the latter, a collection of pages, of perhaps well-arranged pages, on which are written all the emotions of a loving and sensitive soul, tortured by an endless succession of sights of evil, and yet unsubdued in its faith and hope—written in burning words, in an abrupt, rugged, and incisive manner.

Critics, and among them Ewald and Hitzig, have

made vigorous efforts to establish perfect harmony between the connected elegiac outpourings of Hosea and the scanty lines on the history of the time in II. Kings; to point out and explain his allusions to men, crimes, and catastrophes; to elaborate, so to say, the chronology of his sighs and imprecations. But the attempts are more ingenious than convincing. Idolatry and tyranny, regicide and lawlessness, national decline and a fatal wavering between opposite foreign policies—that is, between virtual submission to Assyria or to Egypt—are characteristic of the whole period, or of most of it; and we know too little of the single acts and actors to discover the precise meanings of poetically veiled allusions to them. There is no reason to doubt the chronological correctness of the order in which the contents of chapters iv.–xiv. lie before us, and the flow of the prophet's grief and indignation probably followed in its embodiments the course of the sinking nation's history; but it is impossible to determine at which stages of the history its poetical reflection begins, lingers, and ends. All we know is that it does not reach the point in the nation's decay which marks the beginning of the end: the conquest of Gilead and other parts by Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria during the reign of Pekah; for Gilead is spoken of throughout as an actual part of the Ephraimitish kingdom. And thus the bulk of the book must be given here without special introductions, and almost undivided, as follows:

(IV.)

- (1) 'Hear Jehovah's words, ye sons of Israel;
 for Jehovah has a controversy with the dwellers in
 the land:
 There is no truth, no love, no knowledge of God, in
 the land;
 swearing, lying, murder, theft, adultery—
 men riot, and blood touches blood.
 Therefore the land mourns,
 and every dweller in it wastes away:
 beasts of the field, and birds of heaven;
 even the fishes of the sea perish.
 'Yet, let no man³⁰ accuse,
 and no man reprove—
 thy people³¹ are accusers of the priest.

³⁰ *man*] Heb. אִישׁ, in antithesis to God (אֵל), who speaks; as in
 לא אִישׁ אֵל יוֹכֵב (Hos. xi. 9), לא אִישׁ אֵל (Num. xxiii.
 19), and אֵל יִדְפְּנוּ לֹא-אִישׁ (Job xxxii. 13).

³¹ *thy people*] 'O priest' must be supplied, if the Hebrew text be
 correct—a priest being addressed as the representative of his order.
 But the transposition of a single letter allows us to change the
 meaning of the last line into 'thy people are like their accusers, O
 priest' (עַמְּךָ כַּמְרִיבֵי בָהֶן). The letter may have been wrongly
 transferred from the margin, where it indicated the correction, here
 suggested, of כַּמְרִיבֵי into כַּמְרִיבֵי. Wellhausen, by a somewhat
 bolder emendation, changes the meaning of the first two Hebrew
 words into 'my people are like their priests' (עַמִּי כַּמְרִיבֵי; cf.
 עַמִּי וְכַמְרִיבֵי in x. 5). His introductory remarks ('Geschichte Israels,' vol. i. p. 141) are
 well worth quoting: 'Im Eingang wird das Volk aufgefordert zu
 hören, worüber Jahve es anklage; die Sünde herrsche derart, dass

- (5) Therefore thou stumblest³² by day,³³
 and the prophet, too, stumbles with thee by night,³⁴
 and I destroy thy mother.³⁵
 My people is destroyed for lack of knowledge—
 as knowledge thou hast rejected,³⁶
 so I reject thee as priest to me;
 thou hast forgotten thy God's instruction,

der völlige Untergang des Landes nicht ausbleiben könne v. 1–3. Mit dem Doch an der Spitze des folgenden Verses ändert der Prophet seine Gedankenrichtung, vom Volke geht er über zu den Priestern: die Wurzel des allgemeinen Verderbens sei der Mangel der Gotterkenntnis (nemlich: Liebe will ich und nicht Opfer) und daran seien die Priester Schuld, die die Aufgabe hätten "die Kenntniss" zu verbreiten, statt dessen aber in selbstsüchtigem Interesse dem Hange des Volkes, durch Opfer statt durch Gerechtigkeit Jahve's Gnade zu erlangen, Vorschub leisten. . . . Hosea bricht von dem vorherigen Schelten gegen das Volk ab: doch schelte und tadle nur niemand; warum nicht, das müssen die folgenden Worte besagen. Es muss in v. 4^b ein Umstand genannt werden, der das Volk entschuldigt und zugleich den Zorn auf die Priester ableitet, die im Folgenden daran kommen. Der zu erwartende Gedanke ist durch diese Erwägungen ganz notwendig bestimmt, nemlich: denn das Volk folgt nur seinen Priestern."

³² *thou stumblest*] O priest.

³³ *by day*] Heb. לְיוֹם, thus 'an account of the antithesis לְלַיְלָה, as in Neh. iv. 16' (Keil).

³⁴ Cf. Is. xxviii. 7: 'Priest and prophet reel,' etc., and Jer. xxiii. 11: 'Both prophet and priest are faithless.'

³⁵ *(thy mother)* 'The nation, as generally explained; cf. ii. 4 (2), and the here following words: 'My people is destroyed.' But a different explanation is possible; see below.

³⁶ Thou hast spurned the priest's duty of teaching the people what God demands of them, and therefore 'there is no knowledge of God in the land.'

and I, thy sons I forget.

As they grew³⁷ so they sinned against me:
so their glory into shame I change.

They eat my people's sin,
and lift up its soul to their guilt,³⁸
and the people and the priest become alike.

So I will visit its ways upon him,
and requite him for its doings.

- (10) They³⁹ shall eat, and not be satisfied;
they practise whoredom, yet shall not increase—
for they have left off serving Jehovah.
Whoring, wine, and must take away the heart.⁴⁰
My people goes for oracles to its wood,
and its stick declares to it.⁴¹

For the spirit of whoredom leads astray,⁴²
and they run away whoring from their God.
They⁴³ sacrifice on mountain-tops,

³⁷ As the priests grew in numbers and power.

³⁸ They live on the people's sinful worship, fostering the lust after their own guilty practices. 'Ephraim has multiplied altars for sinning, his altars are for sinning,' says Hosca elsewhere (viii. 11), and immediately afterward (13) stigmatizes their sacrifices as 'guilt' and 'sins' 'Die Sünde und die Verschuldung ist der Opferdienst überhaupt wie er vom Volke getrieben wird' (Wellhausen).

³⁹ *They*] Who 'eat my people's sin.'

⁴⁰ They render the priests soulless and stupid. 'Heart,' in the language of Scripture, denotes the intellect as well as the emotions.

⁴¹ The priest is applied to for oracles, but, soulless as he has become by debauchery, it is his wooden teraphim and his divining-staves from which the answers are obtained.

⁴² The rottenness of the priesthood infects the people.

⁴³ *They*] The priests, in order to make their religious practices seductive.

burn incense on hills;
 under oak and poplar and terebinth,
 the shade of which is pleasant.
 Therefore⁴⁴ your daughters practise whoredom,
 and your daughters-in-law adultery.
 I will not punish your daughters for whoring,
 nor your daughters-in-law for adultery;
 for *they*⁴⁵ seclude themselves⁴⁶ with harlots,
 and sacrifice with temple-girls—
 and the unreflecting people should perish!⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Therefore*] Thus beguiled by sensual allurements and lascivious rites.

⁴⁵ *they*] The priests.

⁴⁶ *seclude themselves*] Heb. יִסְתָּדְרוּ (in parallelism with יִבְהֲרוּ, they sacrifice), perhaps by mistake for יִקְטְרוּ, they burn incense: cf. verse 13.

⁴⁷ In pursuing this arraignment of the priesthood of his time, Hosea, who, of all the older prophets, is the most familiar with the traditions of early Israelitish history, evidently had before his mind the story of the priestly house of Eli, of its excesses and rejection. The picture before us fully adapts itself in its delineations to the facts narrated in I. Sam. ii–iv., the main portions of which chapters may have existed in their present form in the time of our prophet, if they were not then composed, as many critics presume. The sons of Eli, destined to sacrifice, burn incense, and deliver oracles before Jehovah (I. Sam. ii. 28), became wretches who knew not God (ii. 12), and arrogant priests greedily feeding on the sacrifices of the people (ii. 13–17), and shamelessly abusing their position at the sanctuary for the seduction of superstitious women congregating there (ii. 22). Therefore they were rejected as priests, and doomed to shame for their insolence, to partial extinction, and to endless craving for something to eat (ii. 30–36). They are thus the prototypes of Hosea's priests, who officiate and declare oracles without the knowledge of

- (15) 'If thou practisest whoredom, O Israel,
let not Judah become guilty;

God, eat the people's sin, and sacrifice with temple-girls, and are therefore rejected as priests, and doomed to eat and not be satisfied, and, though practising whoredom, not to increase. In 'their glory into shame I change' (כבודם בקלון אמיר, verse 7 of our chapter) there are allusions to the name of Eli's grandson, I-Chabod (אי כבוד, no glory; I. Sam. iv. 21) and to the words 'they who contemn me shall be despised' (בוי יקל, ii. 30). (Compare our prophet's 'for its glory, that is departed from it,' x. 5, with the explanation of the name I-Chabod: 'the glory is departed from Israel.') A distinct imitation of a verse of I. Samue^l is contained in verse 6 of our chapter: 'As knowledge thou hast rejected, so I reject thee as priest to me' is modelled on Samuel's words addressed to Saul, in the story of Agag (I. Sam. xv. 23): 'Because thou hast rejected the word of Jehovah, he rejects thee as king.' (Compare especially ואמאכאך מכהן לי with ירמאכך ממלך.) The preceding words of Samuel are: 'Has Jehovah as much delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as in obeying Jehovah's voice? Behold, to obey is better than a sacrifice, to hearken than the fat of rams.' These Hosea condenses elsewhere (vi. 6) thus: 'Goodness I desire, not sacrifice; knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.' (Compare הפצתי with ובה, ההפץ with מִזְבֵּחַ, and מעלות with בעלית.) The preceding verse in Hosea has 'I hew by the prophets' (הצנתי בנביאים), which reminds us of the expression 'and Samuel hewed Agag' (וישפה שמואל את-אגג) in the same narrative of the prophet and the Amalekite chief (xv. 33). And having thus discovered in Hosea frequent verbal reminiscences of the story of Agag, we shall not transcend the bounds of legitimate criticism in conjecturing that 'I destroy thy mother' (ירמיתו אִמְךָ, verse 5 of our chapter) is, in plain meaning, a parallel to the words 'childless be . . . thy mother' (אִמְךָ . . . תשכל, I. Sam. xv. 33), addressed to Agag by Samuel. (Compare also וכשל . . . תשכל with וכשל . . . תשכל, in the respective verses.) 'My people is

repair ye not to Gilgal,⁴⁸
 nor go up to Beth-Aven,⁴⁹
 and swear not, "As Jehovah lives, . . ." ⁵⁰
 Like an unbroken heifer
 has Israel become intractable:
 now Jehovah should feed them
 as a lamb in a wide pasture!
 Ephraim is wound up with idols—let it⁵¹ alone!
 Their drink is rank,
 they whore and whore,
 they love "O give"⁵²—

destroyed,' which closely follows 'I destroy thy mother,' seemingly speaks against this conjecture, but 'thy sons I forget,' in the same verse, speaks *for* it. And 'thy sons,' between 'I reject thee as priest,' and 'their glory into shame I change,' again reminds us of Eli and his sons.

⁴⁸ *Gilgal*] See above, p. 76.

⁴⁹ *Beth-Aven*] Beth-El; see above, p. 80.

⁵⁰ Hosea here condenses two verses of his older contemporary: 'Seek not Beth-El, repair not to Gilgal, and go not over to Beer-Sheba,' etc. (Am. v. 5), and 'They who swear by Samaria's guilt, and say, "As thy God lives, O Dan, . . ."; "As there exists a way to Beer Sheba, . . .," etc.' (viii. 14), at the same time adopting Amos's change of the name Beth-El into Beth-Aven. As Beer-Sheba is mentioned in each of those passages, it is probable that the verse before us, too, originally included that name, perhaps in a line like this: 'and swear not, "As thy Lord lives, O Beer-Sheba"' (See above, pp. 99, 100.) 'Swearing' is naturally connected with Beer-Sheba, a name signifying *well of swearing* (Gen. xxi. 31). If the text be correct, its meaning must be: Swear not by Jehovah at those seats of public idolatry, Gilgal and Beth-El.

⁵¹ *it*] In the original *him*, which is, however, followed by the possessive *her*.

⁵² Heb. הָבֵי, literally, *give ye*, as in the Authorized Version. The

its shields⁵³ are a disgrace.
 The wind binds it up in its wings;
 they shall blush for their sacrificings.⁵⁴

(V.)

- (1) 'Hear this, ye priests;
 attend, O house of Israel;
 listen, house of the king.
 For against you⁵⁵ is the pleading,
 since ye are a snare at Mizpah,⁵⁶
 and a net, spread, on Tabor.
 They stretch faithlessness deeply,⁵⁷

word is expressive of greedy asking for gifts, and of insatiableness. 'Give-give' (הב הב) characterizes the first two insatiableness of Aluqah's proverb (Prov. xxx. 15; see note L, at the end of the volume). A confirmation of the Authorized Version's rendering of הב can be found in Isaiah. (See note M.) In the same way Hosea (viii. 13) speaks of the 'sacrifices of my Give-gives' (וכרי הכהבי) —that is, of Jehovah's priests after the fashion of the sons of Eli, who, 'when any man offered a sacrifice,' 'even before the fat was burned,' would send a servant with these words: 'Give flesh to roast for the priest,' and would insist on its being given 'raw,' 'immediately' (I. Sam. ii. 12-16; cf. תנה, give, and תתן, thou shalt give, to which הב הב corresponds).

⁵³ Ephraim's defenders and rulers are a disgrace. So according to the Masoretic text; but if instead of מַגִּנֵּיהָ we read מוֹנִיָּה (see note M), the Heb. words must be rendered, *shame for its gardens!*

⁵⁴ *sacrificings*] Heb. זְבַחְהוֹת, the pl. of זִבְחָהּ, which corresponds to *zeba'h* as *tib'hūh* does to *teba'h*. The Septuagint, however, read instead of מוֹכַחֵהֶם, for their sacrificings, מוֹכַחֵהֶם, for their altars.

⁵⁵ *you*] Priests and court.

⁵⁶ Presumably Mizpah-in-Gilead.

⁵⁷ *They . . . deeply*] A conjectural rendering of וְשָׁחַטָה

but I am a chastisement to them all.
 I know Ephraim,
 Israel is not hid from me.
 Thou art lewd now, O Ephraim;
 Israel is defiled.
 Their doings allow them not
 to return to their God;
 for the spirit of whoredom is within them,
 and Jehovah they know not.

- (5) The glory of Israel⁵⁸ testifies to his face;
 Israel and Ephraim stumble in their guilt;
 Judah, too, stumbles with them.
 With their sheep and cattle
 they go to seek Jehovah,
 but find him not;
 he has withdrawn from them.
 They have been faithless to Jehovah,
 begetting strange offspring:
 now a month shall consume them,
 with their portions.
 'Blow ye the horn at Gibeah,

יְשׁוּעַם הַעֲמִיקוֹ. Various corrections of these words have, however, been suggested: Griesz ('Geschichte der Juden,' vol. ii. part i. p. 212) reads, instead of יִשְׁחַמָּה וְשִׁכְמָה (*cf.* יִרְצָחוּ שִׁכְמָה, Hos. vi. 9), connecting 'Shechem' with 'Mizpah' and 'Tabor;' A. Krochmal (cited by Schorr), . . . יִשְׁחַח הַ, adding 'pit' to 'snare' and 'net;' and Schorr ('He'hālūç' i. 114, x. 78), יִשְׁחַחַהּ, comparing יִשְׁחַח (Hos. ix. 9). To these conjectures one more may be added: יִשְׁחַמָּה שְׁמִים stands for יִשְׁחַח רִשְׁתָּם (*cf.* Ps. xxxv. 7).

⁵⁸ Jehovah. Dr. S. Adler, reading יַעֲנֶה for יִעֲנֶה, translates, *Israel's pride is humbled* . . .

the trumpet at Ramah,⁵⁹
 shout at Beth-Aven,
 “ Behind thee,⁶⁰ O Benjamin !”
 “ Ephraim shall be laid waste
 in the day of chastisement,”
 against Israel’s tribes
 I announced as sure.

- (10) Judah’s princes have become
 removers of landmarks:
 over them I shall pour out
 my wrath like water.
 Ephraim is oppressed,
 law-crushed;
 for he willingly
 follows the statute.
 And thus I am like a moth to Ephraim,
 like a germ of decay to Judah.
 Ephraim sees his disease,
 and Judah his wound;
 and Ephraim goes to Assyria,
 sends to the grand-king.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Gibeah* . . . *Ramah*] Towns situated on eminences of northern Benjamin, and belonging to the kingdom of Judah, which is thus to be warned of the danger coming from the invaded north.

⁶⁰ *Behind thee*] It is (is the invasion announced by the signal).

⁶¹ *grand-king*] *Melek yārēb*, seems to be an imitation of the self-glorifying epithets adopted by the Assyrian kings: *saru rabu*, great king, and *saru dannu*, mighty king; the word *yārēb* being possibly chosen as combining, in the double sense of *yāreb*, becomes great, and *yārīb*, contends, pleads, both Assyrian epithets in their Hebrew significations (*rab*, great, and *dān*, judge, pleader). Sennacherib is desig-

But he cannot heal you,
 nor remove your wound;
 for *I* am like a lion to Ephraim,
 like a young lion to the house of Judah;
I tear, and go;
 I carry off, and none delivers.

- (15) I go, and return to my place,
 and wait till they feel their guilt,
 and seek my countenance:
 in their distress they will early come to me.

(VI.)

- (1) “Come, let us return to Jehovah;
 for *he* has torn, and will heal us;
 has smitten, and will bind us up.
 He will revive us after two days,
 in the third he will raise us up—
 that we may live before him.
 So let us know, eagerly hasten to know, Jehovah:
 like the dawn’s his rise is sure;
 as rain he will come upon us,
 as the earth-refreshing latter rain.”
 ‘What shall I do to thee, O Ephraim?’

nated in II. Kings xviii. 19, 28 as *hammelek khaggädöl melek kh ashshūr*, the great king, the king of Assyria, and in his inscriptions he terms himself *saru rabu saru dannu saru assuri*. (See George Smith’s ‘History of Sennacherib,’ p. 1.) Schrader (‘Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,’ p. 281) translates *melek kh yārēb*, *King Warlike* (properly *King Contender*), and thinks Hosea referred to King Assur-danilu (771–754 B.C.). *Yārēb* (= *yāh rāb*, Jehovah contends) may thus be the equivalent of the Assyrian *dān ilu* in the Hebrew sense (*dān ʾēl*, God contends, defends). As such it was the more easily chosen as ‘King Jareb’ resembled the then familiar ‘King Jeroboam.’

what to thee, O Judah ?
 your goodness is as the morning-cloud,
 as the early, vanishing dew.

- (5) ‘Therefore I hew by the prophets,⁶²
 slay them with the words of my mouth,
 and judgment shines forth as light.⁶³
 For goodness I desire, not sacrifice;
 knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.
 ‘Yet they, like men,⁶⁴ transgressed the covenant;
 there⁶⁵ they acted faithlessly against me.

⁶² See above, note 47.

⁶³ In the Masoretic text, וּמִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ אֵחָד יֵצֵא, and thy judgments light shines forth (*sic*), which is evidently a corruption of וּמִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ יֵצֵא, and my judgment as light shines forth, as the Septuagint, the Chaldee paraphrast, and the Syriac version have it.

⁶⁴ *like men*] In the original, *k'ādām*, like man, or like Adam, which some prefer; Adam, however, is a name unknown to the prophets. The suggestion has been made (by Luzzato ?) that *k'ādām* stands, by mistake, for *b'ādām*, in Adam, meaning the town of that name mentioned in Josh. iii. 16. This conjecture deserves the more attention as it can be extended to explain the whole verse. Adam was the place near which the Israelites, according to Josh. iii., crossed the Jordan; near it Achan committed the sacrilegious crime which drew the wrath of Jehovah upon the people, the first crime committed by Israel in the Holy Land proper (Josh. vii.). The meaning of our verse would thus be: They transgressed my covenant at the first spot they touched in the land which I gave them; *there* they acted faithlessly against me. Achan's guilt is stigmatized, as one incurred by the whole nation, almost in the very words used here by Hosea: ‘The children of Israel acted faithlessly’ (*ibid*, verse 1; the identical meaning of מַעַל and בָּגַד is best proved by מַעַל and בָּגַד); ‘Israel has sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant’ (*ibid*, 11).

⁶⁵ *there*] Explained by some as meaning *therein*.

Gilead⁶⁶ is a city of evil-doers,
stamped⁶⁷ with blood.

⁶⁶ *Gilead*] Stands for Mizpah-in-Gilead (which is most probably identical with Ramoth-in-Gilead). The transition from 'Adam, the town'—if that is meant by *ādām* in the preceding verse (see note 64)—to Mizpah is quite natural, as the former was 'beside Zarthan' (Josh. iii. 16; 'Zarethán' in the Authorized Version is an error), a place situated near Succoth (see I. Kings vii. 46), and must consequently have been almost opposite the mountain town of Gilead. The prophet thus goes back from Joshua's Adam to Jacob's Gilead.

⁶⁷ *stamped*] Heb. *'āqubbāh*, a denominative of *'aqīb*, heel, footstep (Gesenius). As Gilead, according to Gen. xxxi., received its name from Jacob (*ya'āqōb*), whose own is derived from *'āqēb*, heel (Gen. xxv. 26), we may see in the derivative before us, coupled with Gilead, an allusion to the story of the patriarch: The place where Jacob spilt the blood of sacrifices (Gen. xxxi. 54) is now marked by the bloody footprints of murderers; or rather, Gilead falsely boasts of Jacob's sacrifices: it is but a city notorious for the slaughter of human victims. To the derivation of the name Jacob, as given in Genesis, Hosea has a more distinct allusion in xii. 4: 'In the womb he grasped the heel (*'āqāb*) of his brother.' He also repeatedly alludes to the stone-heap (גִּלְגָל) on Mount Gilead, as having served Jacob in lieu of an altar, and to the stone monument (מַצְבֵּה) which he erected there (Gen. xxxi. 44–54). In connection with Gilead and Jacob's Mesopotamian adventures (xii. 12, 13) Hosea says of Israel, 'Their altars, too, are like stone-heaps (גִּלְגָלִים) in the furrows of the field;' and elsewhere (x. 1–3), 'As his fruit increases, so he increases his altars; as his land improves, so they improve the statues (מַצְבֹּת).' That stone-heap and that monument were to commemorate the friendly talk of Jacob and Laban, the Mesopotamian, their covenant (Gen. xxxi. 44) and their oath (verse 53); and to these Hosea seems to allude when he adds (x. 4), 'They talk words, swear falsely, make covenants, and justice springs up like a poison-weed in the furrows of the field.' And the sequel (as well as xii. 2) shows

And, lurking like the man of bands,
 a gang of priests
 murder along the road to Shechem—
 for they do infamous things.⁶⁸

- (10) In the house of Israel I have seen horrors:
there is Ephraim's harlotry,
 Israel is defiled.⁶⁹

that the covenant-making refers to a treaty with Assyria, then the great Mesopotamian power.

⁶⁸ From Gilead Hosea goes over to Shechem, following the route of Jacob in his mind (see Gen. xxxi.—xxxiv). In comparing the assassinations committed by priests near that city—probably facts notorious in his time—to the murderous ‘lurking of a man of bands,’ he perhaps thought of the story of Abimelech, the son of Gideon (Judg. ix.), who made himself master of Shechem with the help of ‘reckless vagabonds’ hired for the purpose, and, when the people revolted against him, ‘laid wait against Shechem in four companies,’ slew many of the revolvers, even before the gate of the city, and shortly after repeated this lying in wait with murderous effect.—‘For they do infamous things,’ Heb. **כִּי זִמָּה עָשׂוּ**, again carries us back to Jacob, while reminding us of the infamous deed of an ancient Schechemite (**כִּי נִבְלָה עָשָׂה**, Gen. xxxiv. 7). (Cf. Gesenius’s ‘Thesaurus’ under **זִמָּה** (‘seclus’) and **נִבְלָה** (‘seclus nefandum’), and **כִּי עָשׂוּ זִמָּה וְנִבְלָה** (Judg. xx. 6).

⁶⁹ ‘The house of Israel’ seems here to imply the meaning of *Jacob’s house*—that is, *Jacob’s household*; Hosea, who is full of reminiscences of the legend of Jacob (see ch. xii.), knows the identity of the two names, and also their derivations (xii. 4). He thus, rather cruelly, reproaches Ephraim with the defilement of Jacob’s daughter, Dinah, in Shechem, and the disgrace it brought on the patriarch’s house (**כִּי נִבְלָה עָשָׂה בִּישְׂרָאֵל**), the harlotry of the nation which descended from him beginning *there*. Compare with **זִמָּה** and **זִנוּת** in the verse before us the words of Dinah’s avengers: ‘Shall he deal

In thee too, O Judah,
a cion⁷⁰ he⁷¹ has set.

‘When I restore my people,⁷²
(VII.)

(1) when I heal Israel,
Ephraim’s guilt reveals itself,⁷³
Samaria’s wickedness all.
For they practise deceit,
thieves enter,
a band makes raids without.

‘And let them not say in their heart
I keep in memory all their wickedness:
their deeds are around them *now*,
they are before my face.
With their wickedness they delight the king,
and princes with their lies.
They are all adulterers;

with our sister as with a harlot (בְּזוֹנָה)?’ (Gen. xxxiv. 31), and the verb טָמֵא, to defile, occurring three times in the story (verses 5, 13, 27).

⁷⁰ A graft of his impurity (Ewald); *qīṭar*, here, having the meaning, not of *harvest*, but of *twig* or *cion*, as in Is. xxvii. 11, Ps. lxxx. 12, and Job. xiv. 9.

⁷¹ Israel.

⁷² So according to the Hebrew text; but בְּשׁוֹבֵי שְׁבוּת עַמִּי may be a clerical corruption of בְּשׁוֹבְכוֹת עַמִּי, in the wantonness of my people, or of בְּשַׁעֲרֵרֵי עַמִּי, in the horridness of my people (*cf.* שַׁעֲרֵרִיָּה in the preceding verse). These words would attach themselves to the preceding line, and conclude the section. (See note N, at the end of the volume.)

⁷³ When I try to remove his disease (see v. 12, 13), all his rottenness shows itself.

they resemble an oven heated by the baker,⁷⁴
 who leaves off stirring
 from the kneading of the dough until it is leavened.

(5) On “our king’s day”

the princes are sick from the heat of wine;
 he joins hands with buffoons.

For they fill their heart like an oven in their lurking;⁷⁵

all night their baker sleeps,
 in the morning it⁷⁶ blazes like flaming fire.

They all glow like an oven,
 and they consume their judges⁷⁷—
 all their kings have fallen;
 none of them calls to me.

‘Ephraim mixes himself with the nations—
 Ephraim is a cake not turned;⁷⁸
 strangers have eaten up his strength,

⁷⁴ *the baker*] The king, who heats and stirs their passions, sharing their excesses, and profiting by them, until he falls himself a victim of private passion or popular frenzy.

⁷⁵ Heb. *כי קרבו כחנור לבם בארבע*, which is, however, most probably a corruption of *כי קרבעם כחנור לבם בער במ*, for their bosom is like an oven, their heart burns within them, as has been pointed out by Schorr (‘*He’hālūc*,’ i. 114, x. 78). This emendation disposes of the speculations about the regicidal lurking of the princes, in which, among others, Hitzig indulged with great ingenuity.

⁷⁶ *it*] The oven, again.

⁷⁷ *their judges*] Heb. *שפטיהם*, probably by mistake for *אופיהם*, their bakers.

⁷⁸ A cake on hot ashes, not turned, and therefore half burned, half raw.

and he knows it not;
 also gray hair is sprinkled upon him,
 and he knows it not.

- (10) The glory of Israel⁷⁹ testifies to his face,
 but they return not to Jehovah, their God,
 and seek him not, for all this.
 Ephraim has become like a silly, senseless dove;
 Egypt they call, to Assyria they go.
 As they go, I spread my net for them;
 like birds of heaven I bring them down;
 I chastise them, as was announced to their crowd.
 Woe to them !—for fleeing from me;
 havoc on them !—for revolting against me.
 And I would redeem them—
 but they speak lies against me,
 and cry not to me in their heart,
 while they wail on their couches.
 For corn and wine they band together,
 rebelling against me.
- (15) *I* strung, strengthened their arms;
 yet to me they impute evil.
 They turn, not upward;
 they have become like a treacherous bow.
 Their princes shall fall by the sword,
 for the rage of their tongue—
 which makes them a derision in the land of Egypt.

(VIII.)

- (1) ‘A trumpet to thy mouth:
 “Like an eagle upon the house of Jehovah !”—
 because they have transgressed my covenant,

⁷⁹ See above, note 58.

revolted against my teaching.

To me they cry,

“We know thee, my God; we, Israel.”

But Israel has spurned the good,

and the foe pursues him.

They have set up kings, not from me;

have set up princes, and I know them not;

their silver, their gold, they make into idols—

that it may be cut off.

(5) Loathsome is thy calf, O Samaria⁸⁰—

my anger is kindled against them:

how long will they be incapable of guiltlessness?

For from Israel it is,⁸¹

A workman made it;

it is no deity—

yea, Samaria's calf will become shivers.

For wind they sow,

and the tempest they reap;

no stalks come from it,

the shoot yields no fruit;

should it yield,

strangers would swallow it.

‘Israel is swallowed;

they are now among the nations—

like a vessel which nobody wants.

⁸⁰ The golden calf of Beth-El, worshipped by the kings of Samaria (Rashi, Kimhi).

⁸¹ Heb. *בִּי מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל וְהוּא*, instead of which Schorr (*‘He'hālūç,* x. 94) suggests *בִּי מוֹסֵר אֶל הוּא*, for it is the worship of fools, comparing Jer. x. 8: *מוֹסֵר הַבְּלִים עֵץ הוּא*, which is followed by *חֲרֹשׁ עֲשָׂהוּ*, as the phrase here is by *חֲרֹשׁ עֲשָׂהוּ*.

For *they* go up to *Asshur*;
to the lonely wild-ass
Ephraim offers gifts for love.⁸²

- (10) Though they offer gifts among the nations,
I gather them now,
and they writhe⁸³ but little
under the burden of the king of princes.⁸⁴

‘For Ephraim has multiplied altars for sinning,
the altars are to him for sinning.
I may write for him piles of teachings:
a strange thing they are deemed.
The sacrifices of my Give-gives! —
they sacrifice them as flesh to eat,⁸⁵
Jehovah accepts them not.
He now remembers their guilt,
and punishes their sins;

⁸² Connect לִי with אֶפְרַיִם, etc.—Ephraim, the ‘unbroken heifer’ (Hos. iv. 16) runs after the Assyrian wild-ass, that wants no companion.

⁸³ *they writhe*] See Mühlau and Volck’s Gesenius, under *hāl* and *hālāl*, and Wünsche, *in loco*.

⁸⁴ *the king of princes*] The grand-king of Assyria. Sennacherib, in his inscription on ‘the Bellino Cylinder,’ styles himself *asariddan malki*, the head of princes. (George Smith’s rendering, ‘head over kings’—‘History of Sennacherib,’ p. 2—and Talbot’s, ‘the first of all kings’—‘Records of the Past,’ vol. i.—are less exact.) As *sar* and *melekh*, the Hebrew words for *prince* and *king*, have the reverse meanings in Assyrian (see Schrader, ‘Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,’ p. 4), the question which Isaiah puts into Sennacherib’s mouth, ‘Are not all my princes kings?’ (Is. x. 8), is doubly felicitous: each of the princes was thus in power and name a king.

⁸⁵ See above, note 52. Dr. S. Adler, reading לִי אֶפְרַיִם, translates, *let them slaughter (them as) flesh, and eat*. Cf. Hos. ix 4.

they—they return to Egypt.
 Israel forgot his Maker,
 and built grand edifices;
 Judah multiplied fortified towns.
 I send fire into his towns,
 and it devours the⁸⁶ palaces.’

(IX.)

- (1) Rejoice not, O Israel,
 exulting like the nations;
 for thou hast gone a-whoring from thy God,
 lovest harlot’s wages on all corn-floors.⁸⁷
 But threshing-floor and press will not feed them,
 the new wine deceives.
 They remain not in Jehovah’s land:
 Ephraim returns to Egypt,
 they eat unclean things in Assyria.
 They pour not wine for Jehovah,
 their sacrifices please him not;
 these are like mourners’ food with them,
 all who eat of it are polluted;
 their food is for themselves:
 it should not come into Jehovah’s house.
- (5) What will ye do in the festive day,
 in the day of Jehovah’s feast?
 For, lo, because of havoc they go;
 Egypt collects them,
 Memphis buries them;

⁸⁶ *the*] In the original, *her*, which is referred by various expositors to various nouns.

⁸⁷ That is, thou delightest in the plenty of corn as in a gift of the Baals (Kimhi); cf. Hos. ii. 7, 14.

their precious things of silver
 nettles inherit,
 briers are in their tents.
 The days of punishment are come,
 the days of retribution come;
 Israel sees it,
 'the prophet is a fool,
 the man of the spirit crazy.'
 So great is thy guilt,
 so great the treachery.
 Ephraim is a spy toward my God;⁸⁸
 to the prophet, a fowler's snare on all his ways;
 treachery is in the house of his God.⁸⁹
 Their corruption is deep,
 as in the days of Gibeah;⁹⁰
 he remembers their guilt,
 punishes their sins.

- (10) 'Like grapes in the wilderness
 I found Israel;
 like the fig-tree's first-ripe, in the first shooting,
 I descried your fathers.
 But *they*—they went to Baal-Peor,⁹¹

⁸⁸ That is, he is bent on espying the errors of the man of God.—Instead of *qôphch*, a spy, we ought perhaps to read *qôdech*, a trapper, in accordance with the following.

⁸⁹ At Beth-El (God's-House), where, though under idolatrous symbols, Jehovah was worshipped.

⁹⁰ The days of the atrocious crimes committed by the Benjamites in Gibeah, which brought about the almost complete destruction of that tribe; see Judg. xix., xx.

⁹¹ to *Baal-Peor*] The Hebrew construction shows that not the

and devoted themselves to the Shame,⁹²
and became abominations like their lover.⁹³

‘Ephraim’s power flies away like a bird,
from the birth, from the womb, from the concep-
tion.

Even if they bring up their sons,
I bereave them of men—
for woe to them when I turn away⁹⁴ from them!
Ephraim like a stately tree⁹⁵ I found, of Tyre’s,
planted in a pasture—
yet Ephraim must lead out his sons to the slayer.’

Give them, O Jehovah—
what shalt thou give?—
give them a barren womb
and shrivelled breasts.

(15) ‘All their wickedness is in Gilgal;
yea, there I hate them;
for the evil of their doings
I drive them out of my house;
I will love them no more—

Moabitish idol itself (see vol. i. p. 63), but the place of its worship is meant.

⁹² *the Shame*] Heb. *bōsheth*, a contemptuous equivalent for *Baal*; see vol. i. p. 195.

⁹³ *lover*] Properly, *love, object of love*, that is, Baal-Peor; see Gesenius *s.v.* *ḥab*.

⁹⁴ *when I turn away*] This is the meaning of the text, whether we read, instead of בְּשׁוּרִי, בְּסוּרִי, when I depart (Schorr), or בְּשׁוּרִי, when I look (away; Ewald, Hitzig). Schorr (‘He’hālūç,’ x. 106) also suggests the reading of the word *gam* after the first *kā* in the verse, instead of after the second; cf. verse 16.

⁹⁵ *like a stately tree*] See note O, at the end of the volume.

all their princes are rebellious.

‘Ephraim is smitten:
their root is dried up,
they bear no fruit⁹⁶—
and should they bring forth,
I would slay the precious fruit of their womb.’

My God rejects them,
for they hearken not to him:
they will be fugitives among the nations.

(X.)

- (1) ‘Israel is a running vine:
he yields his fruit.⁹⁷
As his fruit increases,
so he increases his altars;
as his land improves,
so they improve the statues.⁹⁸
Their heart is divided:
now they shall atone;
this⁹⁹ breaks down their altars,
destroys their statues.
For now they say,
“We have no king:
for Jehovah we have not feared,
and the king—what can he do for us?”
They talk words,

⁹⁶ *fruit*] Heb. *p'rî*, which plays upon *Ephraim*.

⁹⁷ *fruit*) An allusion to Ephraim, the favorite grandson, and adopted son, of Jacob-Israel; see the preceding note.

⁹⁸ See above, note 67.

⁹⁹ Heb. הנה הוא לך כסות עינים (Gen. xx. 16) and כי הוא חלקו (Eccl. v. 17). Cf. Rashi: הוא הדבר.

swear falsely,
make covenants,
and justice springs up like a poison-weed
in the furrows of the field.¹⁰⁰

- (5) For the she-calves¹⁰¹ of Beth-Aven¹⁰²
Samaria's inhabitants tremble;
its¹⁰³ people mourn over it,
its priests writhe—
over its glory, that is departed from it.¹⁰⁴
It,¹⁰⁵ too, is carried to Assyria,
a present for the grand-king.¹⁰⁶
Ephraim shall earn disgrace,
Israel blush for his device.
Samaria's king is undone,
a chip upon the water.
Aven's¹⁰⁷ high-places shall be destroyed,
Israel's sin;
thorn and thistle shall ascend their altars.
And they shall say to the mountains,
"Cover us;"

¹⁰⁰ See above, note 67

¹⁰¹ *she-calves*] Wanton young women; cf. Amos's (iv. 1) 'Bashan-cows.' The expression is derisively chosen with regard to the golden he-calf.

¹⁰² Beth-El; see above, p. 80.

¹⁰³ *its*] Beth-Aven's (Beth-El's).

¹⁰⁴ Over the carrying off of its golden calf, which was Beth-El's glory, just as the ark of the covenant which was carried off by the Philistines was the glory of ancient Israel. (See above, note 47.)

¹⁰⁵ Beth-El's glory, the golden calf.

¹⁰⁶ See above, note 61.

¹⁰⁷ *Aven's*] Beth-Aven's (Beth-El's).

and to the hills,

“Fall upon us.”

‘From the days of Gibeah
hast thou sinned, O Israel.
Had they remained there,
no war would have befallen them, at Gibeah,
with the sons of Alvah.¹⁰⁸

- (10) But I, desiring it, chastised them,
and tribes gathered against them,
while they were yoked to their double guilt.¹⁰⁹

‘Ephraim is a trained heifer,
who loves to thresh,
and I pass over her fair neck;
I yoke Ephraim,
Judah must plow,
Jacob must harrow.
Sow ye for righteousness,
reap according to love,
break up your fallow ground;
it is time to seek Jehovah,
till he come,
and rain righteousness upon you.’
Ye have plowed wickedness,
have reaped iniquity,
and eaten the fruit of lying.

¹⁰⁸ The crime committed at Gibeah (see Judg. xix. xx.) caused the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin, the depopulation of the district, and, in consequence, the aggressive boldness of adjoining non-Hebrew tribes. (See note P, at the end of the volume.)

¹⁰⁹ To the consequences of the ravishment and murder committed at Gibeah.

For thou hast trusted in thy way,¹¹⁰
 in the multitude of thy valiant men.
 But tumult arises among thy tribes,
 and all thy strongholds are laid waste,
 as Shalman laid waste Beth-Arbel
 in the day of battle;
 mother and children were dashed to pieces.¹¹¹

- (15) Thus Beth-El does to you,
 through your utter wickedness—
 at dawn Israel's king perishes, perishes.

(XI.)

- (1) 'When Israel was young,
 then I loved him;
 out of Egypt I called my son.
 Men called them,¹¹²
 and they turned away from them;
 they sacrifice to the Baals,
 burn incense to graven images.
 And yet, *I* taught Ephraim to walk'—
 he took them in his arms—
 'and they know not that I healed them.
 With men's cords I drew them,¹¹³
 with bands of love;
 I was to them
 a lifter up of the yoke on their jaws,

¹¹⁰ *in thy way*] Heb. בִּדְרֹכְךָ, for which Ewald and others substitute בִּרְכֹבְךָ, in thy chariots, after the Septuagint; cf. Is. xxxi. 1.

¹¹¹ See note Q, at the end of the volume.

¹¹² They were called by prophets.

¹¹³ That is, I treated Ephraim, the heifer (see above), like a human creature, tenderly.

and gave them food to eat.

- (5) He shall not return to Egypt,
but the Assyrian *is* his king—
because they refuse to turn around.
And the sword shall whirl down upon his cities,
and destroy his bars, and consume—
because of their devices.
My people is bent on turning away from me;
when called upward,
it rises not at all.

‘How could I give thee up, O Ephraim?
surrender thee, O Israel?
how give thee up like Admah,
make thee like Zeboim?’¹¹⁴
My heart turns within me,
all my compassion is kindled.
I will not execute my burning wrath,
I will not turn to destroy Ephraim;
for I am God—not a man—
holy in thy midst;
I come not with fury.

- (10) ‘After Jehovah shall they go,
who roars like a lion.
For *he* will roar,
and the children shall come trembling from the sea:
trembling like a bird, from Egypt;
like a dove, from Asshur’s land;

¹¹⁴ Admah . . . Zeboim] Towns believed by the Hebrews to have been destroyed simultaneously with Sodom and Gomorrah (Deut. xxix. 22; cf. Jer. xlix. 18, and compare Gen. xiv. 2 with xix. 20 *et seq.*).

and I will settle them in their abodes'—
Jehovah's utterance.

(XII. [XI.])

(1 [12]) Ephraim surrounds me with falsehood,
Israel's house with deceit,
and Judah is still wayward toward God,
toward the faithful Holy One.

(XII.)

(2 [1]) Ephraim feeds on wind,
runs after the east-blast;
all day he heaps up lies and violence,¹¹⁵
They conclude a covenant with Assyria,
and oil is carried to Egypt.'—
And Jehovah has a controversy with Judah,
he will punish Jacob according to his ways,
he will repay him his doings.
In the womb he grasped the heel¹¹⁶ of his
brother,¹¹⁷
and in his manly vigor he grappled with God:
(5 [4]) he victoriously grappled with an angel,¹¹⁸
who wept and begged him;¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ *deceit*] Heb. שׁוֹנֵא , instead of which the Septuagint had שׁוֹנֵא , falsehood.

¹¹⁶ *grasped the heel*] Heb. *igab*, whence his name Jacob, the grasper by the heel (Gen. xxv. 26), or supplanter (Gen. xxvii. 36; cf. Jer. ix. 3).

¹¹⁷ *his brother*] Esau.

¹¹⁸ Whence his name Israel; see Gen. xxxii.

¹¹⁹ This is an explanation of the preceding; in Zech. xii. 8, too, 'angel of Jehovah' explains 'God.' (cf. Gen. xvi. 10, 13.)

¹²⁰ *begged him*] To release him.

at Beth-El he finds him again,¹²¹

and there he speaks to us.¹²²

Yet Jehovah is the God of Hosts,

‘Jehovah’ is his memorial.

And thou—to thy God turn,

keep love and right,

and constantly trust in thy God.

‘In Canaan’s hands are scales of deceit,
he loves to extort;¹²³

and Ephraim says,

“I have only grown rich,

have earned wealth:

all my labors earn me no guilt

that would be a crime.”

(10 [9]) Yet *I* am Jehovah, thy God,

from the land of Egypt;

I will still make thee dwell in tents,

as in the days of the feast.¹²⁴

And I have spoken through the prophets,

have multiplied visions,

and through prophets talked parables.

‘If Gilead is a fraud,

they are but deceit.

¹²¹ Cf. Gen. xxxv. 9 *et seq.*, where the story is completed.

¹²² Hosca apparently turns the whole narrative into ridicule: all the sanctity of Beth-El rests on the foolish belief of God’s wrestling with a man, succumbing to him, imploring to be released, and showing his gratitude by calling his victor Israel, and taking up his abode at the place where he meets him again.

¹²³ Ephraim has not only inherited the evil propensities of Jacob, but also those of the former owner of his land, the Canaanite.

¹²⁴ *the feast*] Of tabernacles.

In Gilgal they sacrifice bullocks—
all their altars are like stone-heaps
in the furrows of the field.¹²⁵

Jacob ran away to the plain of Aram;¹²⁶

Israel served for a wife,
and for a wife he was a keeper.

So Jehovah, through a prophet,
brought Israel up from Egypt,
and by a prophet he was kept.

- (15 [14]) Ephraim has aroused most bitter wrath:
so the blood he sheds shall be thrown upon him,
and his shame turned against him, by his Lord.

(XIII.)

- (1) ‘When Ephraim spoke, there was terror;
he exalted himself in Israel,
but offended through Baal, and died.¹²⁷
Now they add to their sins,
making for themselves molten images of their silver,
idols according to their skill,
the work of artists throughout;

¹²⁵ Gillead, the heap (*gal*) that was to be witness (*‘ēd*) of oaths of friendships confirmed by sacrifices, has proved a fraud, and Gilgal’s altars, too, are but heaps (*gal-gal*) of stone, and everything in the land is deceit. (See above, note 67.)

¹²⁶ Jacob fled before his brother Esau, whom he had defrauded, to Aram-Naharaim, or Mesopotamia, where he served Laban twice seven years, tending his flocks, for the sake of his daughter Rachel (Gen. xxviii., xxix).

¹²⁷ *and died*] In Heb. יִמָּת, probably by mistake for יָמָת, and rebelled; cf. כִּי מָרְתָה in verse 1 of the following chapter, and הַמְרֹרִים (a word of a kindred stem) in the last verse of the preceding.

of *them* it can be said,
 "Human sacrificers"¹²⁸
 kissing calves!"
 Therefore they shall be
 as the morning cloud,
 as the early, vanishing dew,
 as chaff whirled out of the threshing-floor,
 or smoke out of a window.
 Yet *I* am Jehovah, thy God,
 from the land of Egypt,
 and no deity but me shalt thou know;
 there is no savior besides me.

- (5) I knew thee in the wilderness,
 in the land of burning heats.
 According to their pasture, they became satisfied;
 they became satisfied, and their heart was uplifted;
 thereupon they forgot me.
 And I became like a lion to them,
 like a leopard I lurk in the way;
 I attack them like a bereaved bear,
 rend the enclosure of their heart,
 and prey on them there like a lioness;
 the beast of the field tears them in pieces.

¹²⁸ After Kimhi, Ewald, and others. Wellhausen ('Geschichte Israels,' vol. i. p. 91), contending against the notion that Hosea here ridicules the practice of human sacrifices, of which there is no trace in the Israelitish records of those times, well remarks, 'Menschenopfer würde der Prophet schwerlich nur so beiläufig, mehr in Spott als in der Entrüstung, tadeln; er würde das Empörende, Scheussliche der Tat viel mehr hervorheben als das Widersinnige. Also bedeutet זבחי אדם wol: Opfernde aus dem Genus Mensch.'

- It destroys thee, O Israel,
that thou art against me, thy help.¹²⁹
- (10) Where is thy king then,
that he may help thee in all thy cities?
where are thy governors, about whom thou saidst,
“Give me a king and princes”?
I give thee kings in my anger,
and take them away in my wrath.
‘Ephraim’s guilt is bound up,
his sin is stored away.
A mother’s throes have come for him,
but he is an unwise son:
at the time, he appears not
where babes break through.
From the power of hell shall I ransom them?
from death redeem them?
Where are thy plagues, O death?
where is thy havoc, O hell?
regret shall be hid from my eyes.
- (15) Though, among the brethren, he¹³⁰ grow luxuriantly,
there comes the east-blast—
Jehovah’s wind,
rising from the desert—
and his fountain parches away,
his spring dries up.

¹²⁹ *that* . . . *help*] Heb. כִּי בִי בְעֹזֶרְךָ, instead of which Schorr (‘He’hālūç,’ x. 94) reads כִּי מִי בְעֹזֶרְךָ, for who is thy help? Cf. the following, ‘Where is thy king then?’

¹³⁰ *he*] Ephraim, a name played upon in the following verb (of the original).

‘That one¹³¹ robs the treasury
of all precious things.

(XIV. [XIII.])

(1 [16]) Samaria shall atone,
for she has rebelled against her God.
By the sword they shall fall,
their infants shall be dashed to pieces,
their pregnant women ripped up.’¹³²

(XIV.)

(2 [1]) Return, O Israel,
to Jehovah, thy God:
thou hast stumbled through thy guilt.
Take words with you,
and turn to Jehovah;
say to him,
‘Forgive all guilt,
and accept the good;
we will pay, as if with bullocks, with our lips.¹³³
Assyria cannot save us,
steeds we will not mount,
nor say “our God” to the work of our hands—
while with thee the orphan finds compassion.’—

(5 [4]) ‘I will heal their defection,

¹³¹ That east-blast—that is, the foe from the east, the Assyrian.

¹³² This is predicted, perhaps, as a retribution for atrocities committed by King Menahem, and related in the same words (II. Kings xv. 16). There seems, in fact, to be a verbal allusion to *m’na’hēm* in *nō’ham* (verse 14 of the preceding chapter in our book), and there is, perhaps, another in *bēn a’hīm* (verse 15), replacing *mīn a’hīm*.

¹³³ The substitution of מפרים for פרים, after the Septuagint, changes the rendering into *we will pay of the fruit of our lips*.

will love them from generosity—
 for my anger has turned away from him.
 I will be as dew to Israel:
 he shall bloom as the lily,
 and strike his roots as Lebanon;
 his shoots shall spread,
 and his beauty be like the olive-tree's,
 and his fragrance like Lebanon's.'
 Once more they who dwell in his¹³⁴ shade
 will call corn to life,
 will bloom like a vine
 renowned like the wine of Lebanon.
 Ephraim: 'What care I for idols any more?'—
 'I answer, I look at him:
 I am like a verdant cypress—
 in me thy fruit is found.'—

(10 [9]) Who is wise, to understand all this?
 who intelligent, to discern it all?
 Yea, Jehovah's ways are straight;
 in them the righteous walk,
 and the rebellious stumble.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ *his*] God's, who has spoken.

¹³⁵ The last lines are an epilogue to the whole book.

NOTES.

A.

(See above, p. 10.)

CONCERNING the occurrence of Greek words in Canticles the following from Graetz's 'Schir ha-Schirim' (p. 54) is worth quoting: 'Zum grössten Verdruss der Ausleger, welche das H. L. alt machen, kommt darin das Wort אפריון vor, und die griechische Version giebt es mit *φορεῖον* Sänfte, Tragsessel, Tragbett wieder. Der Kirchenvater Hieronymus, obwohl kein besonders philologisch geschulter Exeget, erkannte ebenfalls in אפריון das griechische *φορεῖον*. In der neuhebr. Literatur wird אפריון ohne weiteres als Sänfte gebraucht. . . . Hartmann bezeichnet daher dieses Wort als Merkmal der Jugend des H. L. . . .: "Was liegt Unwahrscheinliches darin, dass während der selucidischen Periode, in welche das H. L. frühestens gesetzt werden kann, das Wort *φορεῖον*, womit die Juden zuerst in Syrien bekannt wurden, . . . in die hebr. Sprache eingebürgert wurde?" Magnus erkannte ebenfalls den griechischen Ursprung des Wortes אפריון an, nur meinte er (S. 156), es könnte erst später für ein hebräisches substituirt worden sein.' Even Delitzsch, who labors hard, and as unsatisfactorily as Ewald, Hitzig, and others did before him, to find a non-Greek derivation for *appiryōn*, cannot suppress these remarks: 'The sound of the word, the connection, and the description led the Greek translators the (LXX.,

Venet., and perhaps also others) to render אַפֶּרְיוֹן by *φορεῖον*, litter, palanquin (Vulg. *ferculum*). The *appiryōn* here described has a silver pedestal and purple cushion—just as we read in Athenæus v. 13 . . . that the philosopher and tyrant Athenion showed himself “on a silver-legged *φορεῖον*, with purple coverlet.” . . . The Mishna, *Sota* ix. 14, uses *appiryōn* in the sense of *phoreion*: “In the last war (that of Hadrian) it was decreed that a bride should not pass through the town in an *appiryōn*.” . . . In the Midrash also—*Bammidbar rabba*, c. 12, and elsewhere—the *appiryōn* of the passage before us is taken in all sorts of allegorical significations, in most of which the identity of the word with *φορεῖον* is supposed.’ He also adds: ‘While Schlotten is inclined to take *appiryōn*, in the sense of a litter, as a word borrowed from the Greek, . . . Gesen. in his *Thes.* seeks to derive it, thus understood, from פָּרָה, *cito ferri, currere*; but this signification of the verb is imaginary.’ (On Cant. iii. 9; Easton’s translation.) But to Delitzsch—as it was to Ewald—‘a Greek word in the Song is in itself so improbable’ that he supposed *appiryōn* to be ‘an originally Semitic word, which the Greek language adopted at the time when the Oriental and Græco-Roman customs began to be amalgamated.’ It is, however, a very strange philological proceeding to derive a Greek word with the plainest of Greek derivations (*φορεῖον*, portable chair, litter, from *φέρω*, to carry) from a Biblical ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, for which a plausible derivation from a Semitic root is vainly sought. In the same way we might derive *συμφωνία* from *sūmpōnyāh* in Dan. iii. 5. And to find ‘a Greek word in the Song improbable’ requires a faith in the an-

tiquity of the book not to be shaken by linguistic evidence. The word *kopher*, which occurs twice in the Song (i. 14, iv. 13) and nowhere else in the Bible, Delitzsch himself identifies with *κύπρος*, a shrub 'abundant in Cyprus' (Passow s. v.), and though the island of Cyprus may have received its name from its cypress trees, and the cypress its own from a Semitic word identical with Heb. *gopher* (see Vaniček, 'Fremdwörter im Griechischen und Lateinischen,' p. 29), the name of the shrub in Greek is evidently derived from the name of the island, while in Hebrew it, too, is without a plausible Semitic derivation. Graetz is probably right also in regard to *mezeg* (Cant. vii. 3), which he derives from *μίσγω*; and if the Hebrew verb *māsakh*, as in *לִמְסַךְ שָׁכָר* (Is. v. 22), has the meaning of *mixing*, which he denies, the use in Canticles of *mezeg* (as it is used in post-Biblical Hebrew), instead of *mesekh*, is only another proof that the book is a product of a time in which Greek words of similar sound, and perhaps kindred origin, began to be substituted for older, purely vernacular terms. Graetz's conjecture as to *נָרִים נָרַר וְכַרְכָּם* (Cant. iv. 13, 14), where he substitutes the post-Biblical *נָרִים* (= *ρόδα*, Æol. *βρόδα*, roses) for *נָרַרִים*, nards, because the poet would not have repeated the word *nard*, is even by Delitzsch acknowledged to be 'beautiful,' though he feels bound to add, 'but for us, who believe the poem to be Solomonic, it is inconsistent with the history of roses.' Those who are not fettered by such a belief will find it strikingly correct. A perhaps unnecessary support for it can also be found in the Talmud, 'Niddāh' 8^a, where *v'rād* (or *vārād*) and *kopher* (*ρόδον* and *κύπρος*, which remind us of *Ῥόδος* and *Κύπρος*) appear connected

as Graetz's emendation connects them in the Song. Of course, the Hebrews might have received their name for rose more or less directly from the Iranians, from whom the Greeks received both their rose and its name (Vaniček, *l. c.*, p. 45); but the 'history of roses,' the name of which occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament—the Authorized Version's 'rose' is incorrect—the frequent use of *v'rād* in the Talmud, and the form of this word itself are sufficient evidence of a very late incorporation of the term. That Graetz easily recognized in *talpiyyōth* (Cant. iv. 4) a non-Hebrew word is but natural, but that he did not discover in it an imitation of the Greek τροπαῖα, trophies, which the context so obviously shows it to be, is surprising. We read of 'a tower of David, built for *talpiyyōth*,' on which are hung 'the shields of the *gibbōrīm*': no other word will answer here to *talpiyyōth* so well as τροπαῖα, both in sound and meaning. And there is apparently in the verse an allusion to 'the golden shields' of Hadadezer's officers which 'David brought to Jerusalem' (II. Sam. viii. 7)—trophies won by his famous *gibbōrīm*. Whether in giving the Greek word a Semitic form the Hebrews thought of making it a compound implying *tālāh*, to hang up, and *piyyōth*, edges, in the sense of '*hereb piyyōth*, a two-edged sword (Prov. v. 4), may be left undecided. (Cf., however, Ezek. xxvii. 10, 11.) That the *r* sound was changed into *l* cannot surprise us, if we compare the Talmudical *marg'lithā* with μαργαρίτης, Talm. *palhedrīn* and *parhedrīn* with πάρεδροι, Talm. '*hard'lith* with χαράδρα, Lat. *lilium* with λείριον—not to speak of Heb. *mazzārōth* and *mazzālōth*, Heb. *sharsh'rāh* and Chald. *sharsh'lāh*, Heb. *almānāh* and Chald. *arm'lā*, or similar interchanges

of the liquids in Semitic tongues. And that the Hebrews changed into ת not only the θ of the Greeks (as Geiger asserts in his 'Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischnah,' p. 20), but also their τ, is sufficiently proved by פסנתרין (for φαλτήριον) in Dan. iii. 5, 7, 15. It is, perhaps, needless to add that the Greek word for trophy is as genuinely Hellenic as the Greek word for symphony, and can as little as the latter be derived from a word in the Old Testament.—Of course, a few derivations from the Greek of words in Canticles would not sufficiently support each other, if there were no other proofs to convince us that the book is a product of a period as late as the time of the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies. Such proofs, however, have been accumulated by Graetz, after A. T. Hartmann, in the utmost abundance. In fact, it requires little more than the unprejudiced reading of the first chapter of the Song (with its ששופתני השמש כרמי שלי, שְׁלָמָה, יְהִירוּם, בַּעֲנָה*, עֲמָנָה, אִיפָה תרעה, איכה תרעה, ישחמלך, etc., etc.) to convince us that we have before us a poet whose diction reflects the transition from pure Old

* Like רַעִיָּה, עַמְיָה is an irregular fem. derivative, designating the female עֵיט, vulture (or bird of prey, generally; here perhaps eagle, like *ἀετός*, poet. *αἰετός*). Canticles is particularly fond of such feminines; cf. the immediately following הַסֶּה, mare, and הַגִּדָּה, she-kid, which, like הַצִּבְיָה, she-gazelle (iv. 5, vii. 4), and הַצִּבְאוֹת (ii. 7, iii. 5), appear in no other book. The sense thus obtained for verse 7 is excellent: The shepherdess begs her friend to tell her where he feeds, where his flock rests at noon: why, in searching for him, should she hover about the flocks of his companions, like a she-vulture hovering above feeding lambs, and craving to descend upon one, unobserved by the shepherds?

Hebrew to the language of the Mishnah almost as strongly as it is reflected in the poorer prose of the author of Ecclesiastes, 'one of the most recent of the books of the O. T.' even according to Delitzsch ('Introduction' to his 'Ecclesiastes'). It is surely not necessary to adopt all of Graetz's emendations and historico-critical conjectures—ranging through various degrees of plausibility—to find his principal conclusion firmly established.

B.

(See p. 11.)

THE following is the chronology of the successors of Solomon according to Oppert:

Kings of Judah.
978 Rehoboam I.

960 Abijah.
958 Asa.

917 Jehoshaphat.

895 Jehoshaphat with Jehoram.
892 Jehoram alone.
888 Ahaziah.

Kings of Israel.

977 Jeroboam.

956 Nadab.
955 Baasha.
932 Elah.
931 Omri with Tibni.
927 Omri alone.
920 Ahab.

900 Ahaziah.
899 Joram.

Kings of Judah.

887 Athaliah.

881 Joash.

840 Amaziah.

811 Uzziah.

758 Jotham.

743 Ahaz.

727 Hezekiah.

698 Manasseh.

642 Amon.

640 Josiah.

609 Jehoahaz.

608 Jehoiakim.

598 Jehoiachin.

“ Zedekiah.

587 Destruction of Jerusalem.

Kings of Israel.

887 Jehu.

859 Jehoahaz.

842 Joash.

825 Jeroboam II.

798-787 Foreign domination.

787 Jeroboam again.

773 Zachariah.

772 Shallum.

“ Menahem I.

762 Pekahiah.

759 Pekah.

742 Menahem II.

733 Pekah again.

730 Hoshea.

721 Capture of Samaria.

This list, though a work of recent date (first published in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* of 1876), and of a

famous Assyriologist, differs but little from the corresponding chronologies of Clinton (*'Fasti Hellenici,'* 1824-1834) and Zunz (*'Zeittafel'* to his Bible, 1837), published before Assyriology began to affect Biblical criticism. Some of the more interesting dates according to these scholars may be compared: Jeroboam I., 976 (Clinton), 978 (Zunz); Ahab, 919 (C.), 920 (Z.); Jehu, 883 (C.), 885 (Z.); Jeroboam II., 823 (C.), 824 (Z.); Zachariah, after an interregnum, 771 (C.), 772 (Z.); Shallum, 770 (C.), 772 (Z.); Menahem, 770 (C.), 772 (Z.); Pekahiah, 759 (C.), 760 (Z.); Pekah, 757 (C.), 758 (Z.); Hoshea, after an interregnum, 730 (C.), 729 (Z.); capture of Samaria, 721 (C.), 720 (Z.); Manasseh, 697 (C.), 696 (Z.); Zedekiah, 598 (C.), 597 (Z.); destruction of Jerusalem, 587 (C.), 586 (Z.). It is, however, a conjecture of his own, of earlier date than the table given above, which makes it possible for Oppert to save the chronology of the Bible without disregarding the records of the Assyrian monuments. That conjecture supposes a break in the Assyrian *'Canon of Eponyms,'* a list corresponding to the lists of eponymal archons in Athens, and in parts containing a mention of the principal events which took place during the annual terms of the eponyms. Other Assyriologists, less anxious to harmonize the Scriptural statements with the results obtained from the decipherment of cuneiform inscriptions, reject the former as founded on less authentic tradition. Foremost among the upholders of the monumental dates against the texts of I. and II. Kings is Schrader, who exhibits the discrepancies between parts of the Assyrian and Hebrew chronologies in the following table (*'Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,'* 1872, p. 299), here abridged:

<i>On the monuments.</i>	<i>In the Bible</i>
Ahab, 854 (at the battle of Qarqar).	918-896 (reign).
Jehu, 842 (pays tribute).	884-857 “
Azariah (Uzziah), 745-739 (in conflict with Tiglath-Pileser).	809-759 “
Menahem, 738 (pays tribute).	771-761 “
Pekah, 734 (vanquished by Tiglath- Pileser).	758-738 “
Hezekiah, 701 (threatened by Sen- nacherib's invasion).	714 (Sennacherib's invasion).

George Smith, in his ‘Assyrian Eponym Canon’ (p. 153), says: ‘The first point of contact in the period of the canon, between the Assyrian and Hebrew histories, occurs in the eponymy of Dayan-assur, B.C. 854, when the annals of Shalmaneser mention a prince named Ahab, . . . and as the date of this event is more than forty years after the date of the death of Ahab king of Israel, according to the Bible chronology, this has given rise to several attempts to adjust the two histories so as to make them agree. One of the first in the field in this direction was Professor Oppert, who holds the opinion that there is a break of forty-seven years in the eponym canon, between the eponym Nergal-nazir, B.C. 746, and the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, which he lowers to B.C. 744. He thus lowers all the later Assyrian dates one year, and raises the earlier ones forty-six years, identifying the eclipse in the eponymy of Esdusarabe, B.C. 763, with one which happened B.C. 809. . . . I have given my reasons for not agreeing with this theory, and for similar reasons I have objected to the proposed gaps in the canon.’ And after

expressing his faith in the accuracy both of the Assyrian canon and the Biblical chronology of the successors of Solomon, which prevents him from following either Oppert and Haigh (1871), who variously alter the Assyrian dates, or Ernst von Bunsen (1874) and Professor Brandes (1874), who reduce the Biblical ones by over forty years, he adds: 'I would suggest, instead of these chronological alterations, that some of the Biblical names in the Assyrian annals on which they are based either do not refer to the kings supposed, or are errors on the part of the Assyrians. If we allow that the Ahab and Jehu mentioned in the Assyrian records may not be the Ahab and Jehu of the Bible, we are not under the necessity of altering the chronology of either nation in order to make the Assyrian notices fit the time of the Hebrew monarchs.' He then gives his own views of the dates of the accession of the Hebrew kings according to the Bible in a table 'which varies very little from the chronology of Ussher,' and of which the following embraces the most important points:

<i>Judah.</i>	<i>Israel.</i>
981 Rehoboam,	Jeroboam.
921	Ahab.
899	Ahaziah.
885 Athaliah,	Jehu.
824	Jeroboam.
773	Zachariah.
772	Menahem.
761	Pekahiah.
759	Pekah.
729	Hoshea.
726 Hezekiah.	
720	Capture of Samaria.

An entirely new reconstruction of the chronology of the Bible, as well as of that of Assyria and Egypt, has been attempted, with an immense display of research, by Johann Raška ('Die Chronologie der Bibel im Einklange mit der Zeitrechnung der Egypter und Assyrier,' 1878). He endeavors to harmonize the Bible with the monuments by arduous computations and bold rectifications, and obtains dates as startling as the following: Jeroboam I., 990; Ahab, 934; Jehu, 895; Jeroboam II., 842; Hezekiah, 746; Manasseh, 717—with the corresponding changes in the dates of the Shalmanesers, Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, etc. Schrader, followed by Duncker, Sayce, Maspero, and others, and attacked by Gutschmid (most heavily in 'Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients,' 1876) and by Wellhausen, has defended his Assyriological faith, against the authority of the texts of the Bible as we have them, in an extensive work, 'Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung' (1878). In reviewing this book in the 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft' (1879), Nöldeke makes this cautious remark respecting the main points which interest us here: 'Dass König Ahab von Israel auf einer assyrischen Inschrift vorkommt, macht Schrader jetzt ziemlich wahrscheinlich. Doch bleibt immer noch bedenklich, 1) dass auch nach seinen Erörterungen die Lesung des ersten Zeichens von *Sir-'a-la-ai* (= ישראל) nicht ganz sicher ist, 2) dass eben der König, welcher ein Sohn des Omri ist, nicht als solcher bezeichnet wäre, wohl aber Jehu, welcher gerade durch eine höchst blutige Umwälzung Omri's Haus gestürzt hatte. Und dass König Azarja von Juda inschriftlich beglaubigt wäre, will mir auch jetzt noch nicht einleuchten; Wellhausen's und

Gutschmid's Einwürfe sind von Schrader nicht wirklich widerlegt.' Decades may still elapse before a more positive decision in these matters will be agreed upon by Assyriologists and by Biblical critics uninitiated into the cuneiform mysteries. For our purposes here it is not needed. (*Cf.* above, p. 87 *et seq.*)

C.

(See p. 21.)

In the same narrative in I. Kings occurs also מְבִי (*k'thīb*) for מְבִיא (xxi. 21: הִנְנִי מְבִי אֵלֶיךָ), which is also to be found in II. Sam. v. 2 (וְהַמְבִּי אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל), Jer. xix. 15 (הִנְנִי מְבִי אֶל הָעִיר), and Jer. xxxix. 16 (הִנְנִי מְבִי אֶת רֹבְרֵי), always in *k'thīb* form. It is worth noticing that in each of these cases the א is dropped before another א; in לֹא אֲבִי הָרָעָה (also *k'thīb*, I. Kings xxi. 29) it is before a ה. In מֶלֶךְ הַקִּנָּה (Jer. xxxii. 35) and מֶלֶךְ הָאֲדֻמִּים (Ezek. xli. 8) the case is similar; מֶלֶךְ הָאֲדֻמִּים (Gen. xx. 6) happens to correspond to אֲבִי לֵךְ in Mic. i. 15. וַיְבִי יִרְבֵּעַם (I. Kings xii. 12) may be a clerical error, like which there are two others in the same chapter (3, 21).—Compare such regular forms as אָמַר, אָחָר, or אָפָא, and the exceptional הָסֻרִּים (for הָאֲסֻרִּים, Eccl. iv. 14) and הָרָמִים (for הָאֲרָמִים, II. Chr. xxii. 5).

D.

(See p. 47.)

THE following is a part of Knobel's remarks in his introduction to Is. xv., xvi. (including a few words of his editor, Diestel): 'Dass der Epilog 16, 13. 14., worin fast jedes Wort jesajanischer Sprachgebrauch ist, von Jesaia

herrühre, die voranstehende Prophetie 15–16, 12. aber einem ältern Propheten angehöre, ist von den meisten neueren Exegeten richtig angenommen worden (*Gesen. de Wette, Rosenm. Hitz. Maur. Ew. Umbr. Meier, Cheyne*), wogegen man früher die Aechtheit unangetastet liess, zum Theil auch noch in der neuern Zeit (*Eichh. Credner, . . . Hdwk. Drechsl. Del.*). Für die Unächtheit entscheidet: a) die *weichherzige* Theilnahme gegen ein sonst verhasstes auswärtiges Volk . . . , die man bei Jesaia nicht findet, obschon dieser kein Fanatiker ist; b) eine Anzahl eigenthümlicher, zum Theil seltsamer Gedanken und Wendungen, welche ohne Parallelen sind, z. B. dass man auf der Strasse Trauerkleider anzieht, Geschrei das Land umkreiset, Sibma's Weinstock sich über ganze Gebiete erstreckt, seine Ranken berauschen, das Herz um Moab schreit und wie die Cithar rauschet, die Thränen des Verf. Hesbon und Eleale benetzen u. a. . . . ; c) eine Anzahl ähnlicher beispielloser Phrasen und Ausdrücke z. B. *עָרַעַר וְעָקָה* *heftig weinen*, *עָרַעַר* *ein Geschrei erregen*, *מִים מְשֻׁמִּים* *Wasser sind Wüsten*, *נָחַל הָעֲרֵבִים* *Bach der Ebenen*, *הָבִיא עֵצָה* *Rath bringen*, *עָשָׂה פְּלִילָה* *Entscheidung machen*, *שִׁית צֶלַח* *Schatten setzen*, *הַיָּדֵר* *der Schlachtruf füllt* . . . ; d) eine Anzahl Wörter und Formen, Bedeutungen und Beziehungen, welche ebenfalls nur dem Verf. eigen sind, z. B. *גָּא* *stolz*, *מַעְבְּרָה* *Ort am Flusse*, *פֶּקֶדָה* *Kostbarkeit*, *הַיָּדֵר* *ein Ruf nur noch bei Jer.*, *נוֹסְפֹת* *additamenta*, *מָץ* *Bedrucker*, *רָמַם* *Niedertreter d. i. Unterdrücker*, *נִלְאַח* *sich mühen vom Beten*, *עָנָה* *erregen*, das Pi. *אֶרְנֶה* . . . , wozu noch die Häufung des *כִּי* *denn* . . . und *עַל כֵּן* *darum* . . . kommt. Kurz, das Stück ist durch und durch

so eigenthümlich, dass nichts weiter im A. T. von demselben Verf. herrühren kann. Bestätigt wird dies Alles noch e) durch die Haltung der Reden im Ganzen. Die Darstellung ist ziemlich ungleich, unbeholfen und schwerfällig: sie ermangelt eines kräftigen Schwunges und raschen, gefälligen Flusses: die Aufzählung der Ortsnamen ist trocken und nicht mit 10. 28 ff. zu vergleichen: ihr ganzer Character ist alterthümlich.'

E.

(See p. 63.)

KIR is coupled by Isaiah (xvii. 9) with Elam, or Susiana. The original home of the Syrians (Aram) according to Amos (ix. 7), it was also, as stated in II. Kings xvi. 9, the land to which Tiglath-Pileser removed the people of Damascus. 'These notices, and the word itself,' says George Rawlinson (Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' s. v. l.), 'are all the data we possess for determining the site. A variety of conjectures have been offered on this point, grounded on some similarity of name. Rennell suggested *Kimistan* . . . ; Vitrunga, *Carine*, a town of Media; Bochart . . . , *Carena* or *Carna*, likewise in Media. But the common opinion among recent commentators has been that a tract on the river *Kar* or *Cyrus* (*Κῆρος*) is intended. This is the view of Rosenmüller, Michaelis, and Gesenius. Winer sensibly remarks that the tract to which these writers refer "never belonged to Assyria," and so cannot possibly have been the country whereto Tiglath-Pileser transported his captives.' Ewald, Fürst, and Delitzsch share the common opinion: the last-named

(on Is. xxii. 6) does it, however, with some reserve, remarking, 'Jedoch hat קִיר vorn *k* und im Inlaut *i*, während jener (mit dem Araxes sich vereinigende und ins caspische Meer mündende) Fluss *Kur* lautet und im Persischen (entspr. dem Armen. und Altpers., wo *Kuru* = *κῠρος*) mit $\leq$ geschrieben wird.' Schrader (in Riehm's 'Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums,' s. v.) shares both this and Winer's objection to the common identification: It cannot be proved that the region on the Kur in Georgia belonged to the dominion of Tiglath-Pileser II. and Sennacherib. 'Dazu ist der lautliche Wechsel von *Kîr* und (*al*) *Kurru* (*q* und *k*) bedenklich.' He adds that the parallel Elam and Media in Is. xxi. 2, compared with Elam and Kir in Is. xxii. 6, most naturally suggests a Median, or even a Babylonian, territory; he knows, however, no satisfactory identification. Nor does he, in 'Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,' make any attempt to explain the Biblical Kir (*qîr*) by comparing similarly sounding names in the Assyrian inscriptions. What prevents him from doing it is probably the non-interchangeability of *q* and *k* in Semitic words. This is, however, far from being absolute. 'Caph,' says Gesenius ('Thesaurus,' s. v.), 'permutatur . . . maxime cum p;' he compares Heb. *kôba'* with *qôba'*, *dâkhakh* with *dûqaq*, *râkhakh* with *râqaq*, *kâphal* with Chald. *qappêl*, *karsêm* with Chald. *garsêm*, etc., and refers to 'alia multa in linguis cognatis.' Schrader himself identifies or compares Assyrian *kappi* with *qappi* ('Die Höllenfahrt der Istar,' pp. 131, 139), *kuradi* with *gardu*, *qitri* with *kitirri* (Heb. *kether*), *kasritu* with *qasritu* (Heb. *qesher*), and Assy. *kirib*, etc., with Heb. *qereb* ('Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,' pp.

350, 351, 366). Sayce ('Lectures upon the Assyrian Language,' pp. 19, 146) shows that in borrowing Turanian words, and subjecting them to such modifications as were needed to make them 'conform to the structure and grammar of the Semitic tongues,' the Assyrians changed the 'Accadian' '*muk*' (*muq*) into '*muccu*' (*mukku*); and that '*urik*' (*uriq*, Heb. *yārāk*) appears as the 'Accadian' equivalent of the Assyrian '*urcitu*' (*urkitu*). Such being the relation between *k* and *q* in the Assyrian and other Semitic languages, it appears very probable that the Biblical Kir (*qir*) corresponds to the Kir'hi or the Kirruri of the Assyrian inscriptions—names, perhaps, altered from Turanian ones, beginning with *Qir*—or to both, if those neighboring countries were ethnically connected. In regard to their location, Schrader says, speaking of Assurnazirpal ('Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung,' p. 146): 'Von Kirruri aus zieht er in das Land Kirchi . . . Aus der Monolithinschrift desselben Königs col. III, 96 ff. ergibt sich . . . , dass dasselbe nach dem Euphrat zu belegen war, dass dasselbe "dem Lande Chatti" d. i. Syrien gegenüber lag, und dass dasselbe auch nicht allzuweit von dem bekannten Amidi (Diārbekr) am oberen Tigris muss zu suchen sein. . . . Da . . . die Grenze von Kirchi im Westen durch die Euphratgebirge . . . hinlänglich finirt ist, die östliche Grenze uns bis nach Kirruri (um Urmiassee . . .) weist, so werden wir das Gebiet von Kirchi zuversichtlich im Süden des Arsaniās, in dem gebirgigen Landstrich von den Quellen des Tigris in der Richtung nach dem Urmiassee zu bis zum oberen Zāb hin . . . zu suchen haben.' Kir'hi, 'opposite Syria,' may properly be deemed

the Kir from which the Syrians sprang, while the connection of Kurruri, on the border of Media, with Elam appears equally natural; if the Hebrew name covers both, the harmony between the various Biblical references to Kir is perfect. For Kir'hi speaks also the connection of *qîr* with *shōa'* in Is. xxii. 5, in the former of which words already Ewald recognized the Kir of the following verse, and in the latter a people mentioned by Ezekiel (xxiii. 23) in connection with the Chaldees and Assyrians, and with *p'qōd* and *qōa'* (כָּל כְּשָׁדִים פְּקֹד וְשׁוּעַ וְקִיעַ כָּל) בני אשור אֶחָד; Sept.: *υἱοὺς Βαβυλῶνος καὶ πάντας τοὺς Χαλδαίους, Φακὺν καὶ Σουὲ καὶ Ἑχουέ, καὶ πάντας υἱοὺς Ἀσσυρίων μετ' αὐτῶν*). Of these, *p'qōd* is proved to be a geographical designation by the words *yōsh'bē p'qōd*, inhabitants of P'qōd, in Jer. l. 21. This 'n. p. of the whole land of Chaldea or a part of it,' is here, as Fürst properly remarks (*s. v.*), selected to form an assonance with *pāqad* and *p'quddāh*, designating punishment, in verses 18, 27, 31 of the same chapter.' Fürst also remarks that in the Talmud a Babylonian city N'har-P'qōd is mentioned, which contained a high-school in Talmudic times. All the curious philology, however, which has been expended by other expounders on converting *shōa'*, *p'qōd*, and *qōa'* (as well as the *qîr* of Is. xxii. 5) into common nouns ought to vanish in the light of the Assyrian inscriptions, which show us that among the conquests or the Assyrian kings were territories called Su'hi (or Shua), Puqud, and Qui (or Qau). The location of the first-named land is clear from the great inscription of Assurnazirpal, a portion of which George Smith ('History of Babylonia,' edited by Sayce, p. 101) epitomizes thus: 'When in B.C.

879 Assur-nazir-pal determined to attack the Suhi or Shuities, and Sadadu, prince of Shua, sent to Babylon for aid, . . . a Babylonian force marched to the aid of the Shuities, who lived along the river Euphrates, below its junction with the Khabur.' Puqud is repeatedly spoken of in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II. in connection with Aramean tribes living to the south-east of that junction, and Qui appears again and again side by side with Gargamis (Carchemish), and with Syrian localities north-west of the mouth of the Khabur, as far as the Amanus. (See Schrader, *l. c.*, pp. 108-113, and 121, 122, 202, 236 *et seq.*)

Concerning Amos's prediction as to the deportation of the Syrians to Kir, Kuenen remarks ('The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel,' translated by Milroy, pp. 283-285—a work not often enough, perhaps, referred to in this volume): 'The writer of Kings tells us that Tiglath-Pileser hearkened to the request of Ahaz, "went up against Damascus, subdued it, and *carried it* (*i. e.*, *carried the inhabitants*) to Kir, and put Rezin to death." Not only the captivity of the Damascenes, but the district into which the Assyrian transported them, is thus so long before pointed out by the prophet. . . . Nevertheless we see again in this case also how easily we may allow ourselves to be deceived by appearances. For it is plain that Amos really intended something else than to point out the place in which the Arameans would have to settle. In the last page of his book we find a sentence which is evidently connected with his prophecy against Damascus. He is there combating the Israelites who, on the fact of Yahveh having redeemed them from Egypt, built the hope that he would perma-

nently help them, and permit them to continue in the land which he had bestowed upon them. "Are ye not as the sons of the Cushites unto me? Have I not brought up the sons of Israel out of Egypt, and (*i.e.*, but likewise) the Philistines out of Caphtor, and *the Arameans out of Kir?*" When, therefore, the deportation of the Arameans to Kir is announced in the prophecy previously discussed, the meaning of this phrase is, in other words: their rule in the country which they at present possess shall come to an end; they shall return to the land from which they had originally come. In the mind of Amos, therefore, Kir is something different from the accidental destination of the Aramean prisoners; their deportation thither is, according to him, determined by their previous history. . . . Further, if the Arameans actually came from Kir, in that case their transportation thither could no longer be regarded as a mere arbitrary procedure on the part of Tiglath-Pileser; the Assyrian monarch had then a specific reason for transferring them to Kir, and nowhere else. . . . But enough has not yet been said. It is, to say the least, uncertain whether the inhabitants of Damascus were actually transported to Kir. The mention, in the narrative which I have just now quoted from the second book of Kings, of the place to which the Damascenes were carried away, so far from being necessary, is in some degree perplexing. Nobody would imagine that anything was wanting though the passage ran thus: "And he (Tiglath-Pileser) went up against Damascus, and took and depopulated it, and put Rezin to death." The question thus arises whether the single word *Kirah* (to Kir) was originally a marginal note, taken from Amos i. 5, and

afterward inserted in the text. I would not, however, have proposed this question, obvious as it really is, if the word referred to had not been wanting in the Greek version of the Old Testament, at least in the oldest and best manuscripts. Can this omission be regarded as accidental? Is it not rather highly probable that this version has preserved to us the most ancient reading?' 'The conjecture of Rowland Williams,' Kuenen adds, 'that "to Kir," in Amos i. 5, is an addition made by a later editor of the prophecies of Amos, in conformity with the result, lacks the support which my supposition derives from the Greek text of 2 Kings xvi. 9, and does not do justice to Amos ix. 7.'

F.

(See p. 74.)

THE original sentence, הישבים בשמרון בפאת מטה (הישבים בשמרון בפאת מטה =) וכדמשק ערש (כדמשק בפאת ערש), has its parallels in the following: [ל בית און] = Am. v. 5 (*cf.* Hos. iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5); [ולמען תהלתני] = (Is. xlviii. 9) אחטם לך תחת כשתכם משנה וכלמה (Is. lxi. 7) [= ותחת כלמה] ירנו חלקם כל אלה נשאו נשים; נכריות ויש מהם [אשר נשאו] נשים וישימו בנים (Ezra x. 44); וכל תרומה לכל קדשי בני ישראל אשר יקריבו לכהן לו יהיה (Num. v. 9, 10); ואיש [אשר יקריב] את קדשיו לו יהיו בן חכם [שומע] (Prov. x. 17); [שומר] ארה לחיים שומר מוסר (Prov. xiii. 1). In Gen. iv. 22 לטש כל הרש נחשת וברול is not elliptical, but a phrase corrupted by the accidental omission of the word אבי, which we find in the corresponding two sentences (verses 20, 21).

C.

(See p. 82.)

AMOS's סִכּוֹת (v. 26), a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, can most plainly be derived from סָכַךְ. Of the root of this stem, סָךְ, Mühlau and Volck's Gesenius says, 'Diese Wz. gehört zu einer grossen Familie verwandter Wzz., . . . welche sämmtlich die G.B. des *Stechens*, *Schneidens*, *Spaltens* u. s. w. haben.' Among the derivations from this large group of roots are Arab *shagg*, to split; Heb. שָׁכַן, Chald. סָכַן, Arab. *sikkîn*, knife; Heb. שָׁךְ, Chald. סָכָא, Arab. *shōk*, thorn, spine; Heb. שָׁקָה, pointed weapon, dart. סִכּוֹת מַלְכֶּכָּה would thus be, *the carved image of your king*, or *of your Moloch*. The kindred מַשְׁכִּית is generally rendered *image*, thus: 'Ez. 8, 12: מַשְׁכִּיתֵי הַדְרֵי גִמְעָהֶם, deren Wände mit Figuren bemalt sind, oder in welchen Bilder aufgestellt sind, die zum Gegenstande abgöttischer Verehrung dienen;' '3 M. 26, 1, und מַשְׁכִּיתֵי 4 M. 33, 52 Steine mit abgöttischen Figuren;' 'Spr. 25, 11: זָהָב בְּמַשְׁכִּיתֵי כֶסֶף goldene Aepfel mit silbernen Figuren' (Gesenius). It also occurs in the sense of *imagination* (Ps. lxxiii. 7, Prov. xviii. 11), and שָׁכַח and שָׁכַח (however explained) have a clearly cognate meaning. These meanings are, it seems, unnecessarily derived from שָׁכַח in its secondary sense of *seeing*, *gazing at*, by Fürst and by Mühlau and Volck, who consider the primary signification of that verb to be *cutting*. To derive *seeing*, in these formations, from *imaging*, *imagining*, and *image* and *imaging* from *cutting*, *carving*, appears to be a more rational proceeding. Cf. Ger. *bilden*, *Gebilde*, *Bild*, *Einbildung*, *Einbildungskraft*; יָצַר ('Bildung,' 'Gebilde,'

‘Bildwerk,’ ‘Götzenstatue,’ ‘trop. das Sinnen, Dichten’—Gesenius—from יָצַר (‘bilden, *fingere*’); and also בָּרָא (‘schneiden, zuschneiden . . . , dann bilden, zurechtmachen, und daher schaffen, hervorbringen’—Mühlau and Volek). And as סִכּוּת so the parallel כִּיּוֹן (the *Chiun* of the Authorized Version) can be understood to signify *image* or *figure*—a collective figure, or collection of figures, if the pl. צַלְמֵיכֶם be correct. The בְּנֵימִים of Jer. vii. 18, xlv. 19, like כִּיּוֹן from כָּוֵן (כָּוֵן), Chald. כָּוֵן, to prepare, to fashion, is perfectly analogous. These *kavvānīm*, made in honor of the queen of heaven, were, it is true, formed out of dough (Jer. vii. 18), but they were probably shaped to represent her image (לְהַעֲצִיבָהּ, Jer. xlv. 19; cf. עֲצָבִים). Kohler (‘Der Segen Jacob’s,’ p. 14) conjectures that the words צַלְמֵיכֶם and כּוֹכַב, in the text of Amos before us, were originally glosses explanatory of אֱלֹהֵיכֶם and כִּיּוֹן, respectively, and for evidence he appeals to the readings of the Septuagint and the Syriac version, which differ from the Hebrew text. He therefore translates, ‘Ihr habt das Bild Eures Königs und die Gestalt Eures Gottes, die ihr Euch verfertigt habt, getragen.’ We can presume the explanation of כִּיּוֹן by כּוֹכַב to have been owing to the reading of כִּיּוֹן as כִּיּוֹן, corresponding to *Kēwān*, one of the Arabic names for Saturn (*Kāvān* also in Assyrian, according to Oppert and Schrader). This name of Saturn, the worshipped star, is substituted in the Syriac version for our כִּיּוֹן, and the Septuagint’s equivalent, *Παῖφάρ*, is believed to be a corruption of *Καῖφάρ*, for כִּיּוֹן. In both these versions ‘your king’ (‘your *melekh*’) has also easily been turned into ‘your Moloch.’ The correctness of their explanations is assumed in the Authorized Version. כִּיּוֹן is also identi-

fied with the Arabic ('and Persian') *Kēwān*, or Saturn, by Aben Ezra, and Rashi goes a step further, declaring both כְּכֹת and כִּיּוֹן to be the names of idols. Kimhi compares כִּיּוֹן both with כְּכֹת and *Kēwān*, without deciding. Gesenius, after following Aben Ezra in his 'Commentary on Isaiah' (vol. ii. p. 344) and in his 'Lexicon' ('Name einer Gottheit, . . . der Stern Saturn'), reversed his decision in his 'Thesaurus' (pp. 669, 670), expressing a decided preference for rendering כִּיּוֹן צִלְמִיכָם by *statuam* (or *statuas*) *idolorum vestrorum* (כִּיּוֹן from the *pī'ēl* of כָּן in the sense of *erecting*, and not of *fashioning*, which seems to be implied in the 'imaginem idolorum vestrorum' of the Vulgate). כְּכֹת he renders, like כֶּכָּה, by *tabernaculum*. Ewald, Hitzig, and Keil also consider both כְּכֹת and כִּיּוֹן as appellatives, variously explaining them. Kuenen, 'after long hesitation,' 'because the reading and position of the following words are so exceedingly uncertain,' thinks he must give the preference to the identification of כִּיּוֹן with *Kēwān*, 'chiefly because it is recommended by exegetic tradition' ('The Religion of Israel,' translated by May, vol. i. p. 266). Fürst is more positive in explaining the word in the same sense, and Schrader (in his article 'Chiun' in Riehm's Bible Dictionary, and elsewhere) not only unhesitatingly identifies כִּיּוֹן with the *Kaivān* of the Assyrians, but also כְּכֹת with their *Sakkut*. It is, however, unfortunate for this combination that *Sakkut*, like *Kaivān*, is an appellation for Saturn, while Amos says, 'Ye bore כְּכֹת . . . and כִּיּוֹן . . .'

H.

(See pp. 101, 102.)

THE arguments in favor of the identification of Caphtor with Crete, which was advocated, among others, by Hitzig, Bertheau, Ewald, and Knobel, are strongly put forth by Fürst, and thus all but literally reproduced in the following: 'Kaphtôr, the name of the island of Crete, which is termed Î-Khaftôr [island or coastland of Kaphtôr] in Jer. xlvii. 4, the native land of a race of Philistines, the Kaph-tôrîm. As a race named P'lishtîm came out of Kaslôa'h [Gen. x. 14], so a race of Kaphtôrîm immigrated from Crete, or Kaphtôr, into the coast-territory of Palestine on the Mediterranean Sea, reaching from Joppa to the boundary of Egypt (Am. ix. 7). Accordingly Scripture recognizes the immigration of two races of the Philistines, from two directions. The Kaphtôrîm destroyed the primitive inhabitants, the 'Avvîm, who dwelt in villages as far as Gaza (Deut. ii. 23; I. Chr. i. 12). As the name K'rêthî, pl. K'rêthîm, meaning *Cretan*, *Cretans*, also appears for the Philistines in I. Sam. xxx. 14, as well as in Zeph. ii. 5 and Ezek. xxv. 16 (where P'lishtîm stands in the parallel member of the sentence), if Kaphtôr be not identified with Crete (K'rêth), we must still assume a third immigration. On the other hand it must appear strange that the Hebrews should have had two names (Kaphtôr, K'rêth) for Crete. But since it cannot be doubted that the Cretans (K'rêthîm) formed a principal race of the Philistine population in the south of Philistia (see Ezek., *l. c.*, and Zeph., *l. c.*, in the Septuagint), and that David's body-guard consisted of them under the name of hak-K'rêthî (the Cretans), along with Philistines (hap-P'lêthî, made from hap-

P'lishti for the sake of assonance to hak-K'rēthī, II. Sam. viii. 18) ; as the southernmost part of Philistia was called because of this very race the southland of the K'rēthī (I. Sam. xxx. 14, where it is plain from xxx. 16 that Philistines are meant) ; as, according to an account in Tacitus ('Hist.' v. 2), the inhabitants of Palestine (meaning Philistia, as he also identifies the Jews and Philistines) immigrated into it from Crete ; and as the Philistine city of Gaza, according to Stephanus Byzantinus (*s. v.*) was early called Minoa, after Minos—the opinion already put forth by Lakemacher, Calmet, and Rosenmüller that the island Kaphtōr, the home of the Philistines, can only be Crete, ought to be retained. The Hyksos-race of the Kaphtōrīm which emigrated from Egypt at a very early period and went to Crete (Gen., *l. c.*), gave the name Island of Kaph-tōr to Crete, among the Hebrews ; Carian, Phœnician, semi-Semitic barbarian peoples mentioned by classical writers, the Eteocretes and Cydonians, who are said to have inhabited the island before the Hellenes, may have been the Egyptian immigrant Kaphtōrīm.' It is, however, not unavoidably necessary to assume, with Fürst, two immigrations of Philistines : one from the land of the Casluhim, according to Gen. x. 14, and another from the island of Caphtor, according to Am. ix. 7, Deut. ii. 23, and Jer. xlvii. 4 ; for the immigration of the Cretan Philistines, or Caphtorim, may have been indirect, through the land of the Casluhim, which is now generally identified with the Casiotis of Ptolemy, an arid district, named from Mount Casius, between the Pelusiæ mouth of the Nile and the south-west extremity of Philistia. This hypothesis may find some support in a tradition of the ancients thus

stated by Tacitus (*l. c.*) : ‘Judæos, Creta insula profugos, novissima Libyæ insedissememorant.’ There are also writers who believe that in the text of Gen. x. 14 the words ‘and the Casluhim, out of whom came the Philistines, and the Caphtorim,’ though literally so given also in I. Chr. i. 12, ought to be transposed into *and the Casluhim, and the Caphtorim, out of whom came the Philistines*, in conformity with the other texts referring to the origin of the last-named people.—With the now generally abandoned identification of the Casluhim with the Colchians, whom Herodotus and other ancient writers considered a colony of the Egyptians, the only support (outside of resemblance in sound) of the rendering *Cappadocia*, which is that of all the ancient versions for *Kaphtōr*, is also lost. This similarity of names, which probably originated the rendering, is insufficient to counterbalance the objection to the latter arising from the term *ī*, island or coast, attached to Caph-tor in Jeremiah (*l. c.*) ; for Cappadocia, even if we extend its northern borders to the Euxine, could surely not appear to the Hebrews as a maritime country. The identification of Caphtor with Cyprus—also on account of the resemblance of the names—is just as easily disproved by Chittim being the common Biblical designation of that island. Carpathus again, adjoining Crete, is too insignificant an island to be deemed the Caphtor of the Hebrews, the original home of the Philistines.

Of Ebers’s extensive argument for identifying Caphtor with the Delta of Egypt (‘Aegypten und die Bücher Mose’s,’ pp. 127–237), the following are some of the main points: The tablet of Canopus shows that Kaft was the Egyptian name for Phœnicia. The northern, or maritime,

part of the Delta was from times immemorial inhabited by Phœnicians. That maritime district may be supposed to have been called Ai-kaft, the coastland Kaft, or more probably Kaft-ūr, Great-Kaft, for *ūr* in Egyptian means *great*. The name Kaft was derived from the Phœnicians themselves, who designated the shore of the Delta as the bent coastland, *ai-kabt* or similarly—from אִי, Eg. *aa*, island or coast, and כֶּכֶּה or עֶקֶב and kindred Egyptian words, *kab*, *gab*, *kaf*, *akab*, all signifying *to bend*, *to be round*. In the ethnic appellation the word *ai* was naturally dropped, and the Phœnician colonists were thus called by the Egyptians Kaftu. These Phœnicians were the first to make the Greeks acquainted with Egypt, and first of all with its northern insular part, the native name of which, Ai-Kaft, was changed by the strangers into Αἴγυπτος, which became the designation both of the whole land and its river. The Egyptians, on their part, applied the name Kaft to all the divisions of the nation with which they had first become familiar in its colonies between the mouths of the Nile, and, in contradistinction to the islands and the Syrian coast occupied by the Phœnicians, they called their Nile territory Kaft-ūr (Magna Phœnicia). This maritime, almost insular, Kaftūr, is the I-Caphtor of Jeremiah (*l. c.*), the land of the Caphtorim—neighbors of the Casluhim—who migrated into Philistia, and wrested it from the Avvim.—What mainly strengthens the argument is that, according to Gen. x. 13, 14, the Caphtorim, like the Casluhim, were descendants of Mizraim (Egypt), and that all the other descendants of the same Hamite progenitor enumerated with them are easily identified as inhabitants or neighbors of Egypt. (See, among others, Dillmann *in*

loco, and Ebers, *l. c.*, pp. 91–127.) The Caphtorim, before their emigration, thus appear in their right sphere, and need not have detached themselves from their Egyptian kindred to migrate first to Crete, and thence, as Cherethites (*K'rēthīm*, Cretans), to the shores which they ruled under the name of Philistines. On the other hand, this very identity of Philistines and Cherethites—so distinctly attested by Ezekiel and Zephaniah, and elsewhere (see above)—remains to be explained; and it is this difficulty, chiefly, which makes Dillmann, G. Baur (art. 'Caphthor' in Riehm's Bible Dictionary), and lastly Kiepert (in his 'Lehrbuch der alten Geographie,' pp. 171, 172, 248) cling to the old view, while Mühlau and Volck's Gesenius favors that of Ebers. Thus Kiepert sees in the Cherethites immigrants from Caphtor, which is almost indubitably Crete, and in the Pelethites Pelasgians (or P'lishtīm, from *pālash* to wander, '*Pelāschī* "Auswanderer," griechisch umgesetzt in *πελασγός*') assimilated with the former, the forced emigration of the Pelasgians from the Hellenic countries, chronologically coinciding with the appearance of the Philistines as conquerors on the southern shores of Syria.

The proximity of Crete to the coast of Libya—the land of the Ludim or of the Lehabim, or of both peoples, both descendants of Mizraim—easily furnishes the explanation, needed for this view, of the connection established between the Caphtorim and the Egyptian branch of the Hamites in the ethnological table of Genesis (x.). And that the Philistines, in spite of the Semitism which clearly characterizes almost all their historical, mythological, and geographical names, are in that table classified among the Hamites—a

fact, however, not more surprising than that Canaan, the ancestor of the Zidonian and other Phœnicians, whose whole language was purely Semitic, appears there as the son of Ham, and brother of Mizraim—is a difficulty which the defenders of both views must meet. If the Caphtorim—that is, the people afterward so called as natives of Caphtor—detaching themselves from their Libyan and Egyptian brethren, emigrated from Africa into Crete, they were there to a degree Semitized before they left that island as Cherethites, or with Cherethites (Cretans proper), to establish themselves on Syrian lands conquered from the Avvim, side by side with Pelasgic Pelethites (perhaps P'lishtim proper). Crete, in hoary antiquity, was full of Semitic populations, and dotted with Phœnician settlements. The Phœnicians long ruled this and all the neighboring islands. 'Diese Periode semitischer Herrschaft über das ganze Inselmeer,' says Kiepert (*l. c.*, pp. 247, 248), 'mit Karern und Lelegern als Untertanen und dem Sitze in Kreta ist in dem mythischen Seeherrscher und Gesetzgeber *M i n o s* (vgl. *Minoa* als häufigen phönikischen Ortsnamen) zusammengefasst, den schon früh die Griechen, speciell die dorischen Eroberer von Kreta, in ihre nationale Tradition herübergenommen haben. . . . Semitische Ortsnamen sind z. B. *Kaeratos*, der angeblich ältere Name der Stadt Knosos = קרת "Stadt" . . . , *Hellos*, der frühere Name von Gortyn = אילון "Palmen- oder Terebinthen-Hain," deren Hafenstadt *Lebén* = לבנה "weiss," *Itanos* an der Ostküste = איתן "beständig, dauernd" (von Wasserläufen gebraucht—wenn nicht vom Cultus des Ba'al-Itán), das auf hoher Felsterrasse im W. der Insel gelegene *Ardén* = ארד "Zuflucht." Europa, too, the name of the

Phœnician princess whom Zeus carried off to Crete, as well as of the north-western division of the ancient world, is generally derived from עֶרֶב, evening, west, and the name of Jordanus, a river of north-western Crete, compared with that of the Syrian Jordan. To which may be added that Gortyn, Gortys, or Gortyna—Homer's Γόρτυν τειχιόεσσα, walled-in Gortyn (Il. ii. 646)—probably owed this name to its fortifications, which made it an *urbs munita*, קרת (see 'Thesaurus,' pp. 1236, 1237), or a double city, like Kartan, in Naphtali, near the Phœnician border, or Cartenna in Mauritania (Gesenius, 'Phœniciæ Monumenta,' p. 421); that Strabo's (x. 475) 'little town of Prasus,' πολίχνιον Πραῖσος, east of Gortyn, was so called because it was unwalled—*cf.* Heb. פְּרוּזָה, פְּרוּזָה; that Gnosus, or Cnosus, the great seat of the legends of Zeus, in the neighborhood of which were the cavern where he was hid as a child, his tomb, and the much fabled-about Cretan labyrinth, was originally called קרת גנו (Cæratu-Gnosus), City of the Hidden One—that is, of the Libyan and Egyptian Zeus, Ammon or Amen-Ra, whose name signified *the hidden* (Ebers, Poole, etc.), and who, as Diodorus (iii. 71) tells us, fled from Libya to Crete, and reigned there; and that the Semitic Cretans, or a portion of them, may have called themselves כְּרֵתִים as a people *cut off* from the mainland, and their country כְּרֵתָה, Creta, in the sense of island, just as the Arabs call an island (and Mesopotamia) *ǧezīreh*—that is, *terra abscissa* (= אֶרֶץ כְּרֵתָה or אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה in Hebrew).

The various myths attaching themselves to the Cretan Zeus and his son Minos are thus reflected upon by Duncker ('History of Antiquity,' translated by E. Abbott, vol. ii.

p. 65 *et seq.*): 'A bull-god [the *Θεόταυρος* of Moschus] carries the daughter of Phœnix [Europa] over the sea to Crete and begets Minos; a bull who rises out of the sea begets with Pasiphaë, *i.e.* the all-shining, the Minos-bull [Minotaur], to which in case of blight and famine boys and girls are sacrificed in the number sacred among the Semites; Androgeos [Minos's son] succumbs to the heat of the bull of Marathon, an iron man slays his victims by pressing them to his glowing breast. These legends of the Greeks are unmistakable evidence of the origin of the rites observed in Crete from the coast of Syria, of the settlement of Phœnicians in Crete. The bull-god may be the Baal Samim or the Baal Moloch of the Phœnicians; Europa has already revealed herself to us as the moon-goddess of the Phœnicians; Pasiphaë is only another name for the same goddess, the lady of the nightly sky, the starry heaven. We know that on occasions of blight human sacrifices were offered to Baal Moloch, the fiery, consuming, angry sun-god, and that these sacrifices were burnt. . . . Minos, the son of the sky-god, the husband of the moon-goddess, who from time to time receives revelations from heaven, and even after his death is judge of the dead, is himself a god; his proper name is Minotaur, a name taken from the form of the bull's image and the bull's head. . . . Coins of the Cretan cities Gortys and Phæstus exhibit a bull or a bull-headed man as a stamp.' This nearly coincides with the older view of Höck, who in his 'Kreta,' the most extensive work on the subject, construed the genealogy of Minos to denote a combination of the orgiastic Zeus-worship which prevailed among the Eteocretes, the autochthons of Crete, with the moon-worship imported from

Phœnicia. But whether the Zeus of the Cretans was an indigenous god, or the horned Ammon of the Libyan oasis, or the Amen-Ra of Egyptian Thebes—to whom the bull Apis was sacred—or the Moloch of the Phœnicians, is of no importance to us here: very likely most of these gods existed first side by side in different parts of the island, and were finally blended into one. The main fact remains that Creta was the cradle, the nurse, and the tomb of Zeus the bull-god (*Θεόταυρος*), who brought Europa from Phœnicia, and that the coast south of Gortyn was the spot hallowed by the legends which celebrated that event—legends which may or may not have had a precise historical basis. That shore, on which stood the port-town of Gortyn, Leben, more anciently Lebena (Heb. לבנה, white, and also moon), ought thus to have been known to the Phœnicians as the shore of the bull—that is, in their Semitic language, as *kēph tōr*, for *kēph* (see כֶּף in Gesenius's 'Thesaurus,' in Mühlau and Volck's Gesenius, and especially in Levy's 'Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch') signifies *shore* in various Semitic languages, and not only is *tōr* the Chaldee word corresponding to *ταῦρος*, *taurus*, bull, and to the Hebrew *shōr*, ox, but we have in Plutarch ('Sulla,' xvii.) a clear testimony for the identity of the corresponding word in Phœnician (*Θῶρ γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βοῦν καλοῦσι*). This being so, nothing seems more plausible than the conjecture—which the writer owes to a deceased friend, Meshullam Ehrlich, a native of Lublin, in Poland—that this *kēph tōr* was the origin of the name Caphtor; the whole island, sacred to Zeus, being eventually so named by the Phœnicians from the shore of the *Θεόταυρος* and the Phœnician Europa.

I.

(See p. 103.)

THE book of Ecclesiastes ends with an epilogue by a collector—or by a body of collectors—intended partly to counteract the thorough skepticism and partial Epicureanism of the work, and partly to excuse its reception in the Canon, which, in fact, took place very late, and after strenuous opposition. In addition, as the last word of this epilogue happens to be ‘evil,’ the Masoretic copies, for readings in the synagogue, repeat the preceding verse. Similar repetitions, for similar reasons, are Masoretically marked in at the end of Isaiah, of the Minor Prophets, and of Lamentations. Each of the first four books of the Psalter ends with a brief doxology, inserted in the text (Ps. xli., lxxii., lxxxix., cvi.), while the last psalm of the Psalter is wholly a doxology. The last verse of Micah, too, is apparently an addition to the book, made to prevent its ending with the word ‘sins.’ Of the last two verses of Joel only the words **וְנִקְיִי דָמָם לֹא נִקְיִי**, which play upon the preceding **דָּם נִקְיִי**, have a look of genuineness, while the rest seems to be an addition, repeating part of verse 17, and thus softening the prophet’s conclusion. It may also be doubted whether the epilogue of Hosca (see above, p. 163), so much resembling in tenor that of Ecclesiastes, is the prophet’s own.

J.

(See p. 118.)

ALREADY Aben Ezra (on Hos. i. 1) remarked that *ben*, son of, or *bath*, daughter of, never designates a single native or inhabitant of a city. Nor does it designate a

single member of a tribe or a people. We read of the sons of Israel, of Ammon, of Edom, of Asshur, of Kedar, etc., and also of the daughter of Tyre, of Jerusalem, of Zion, of Egypt, of Tarshish, etc.; but in all such instances the people descended from one national or tribal progenitor or the inhabitants of a city or country are meant, collectively—the daughter of Tyre (בת צֵר) is the maiden Tyre herself, poetically so considered. The young women of a city may also be spoken of collectively as its daughters, as are, for instance, in Canticles, the maidens of Zion and Jerusalem (בנות ירושלים, בנות צִיּוֹן); but no single Zionitess would be called in Biblical Hebrew a daughter of Zion. A single member of the Israelitish nation is called an Israelitish man (אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵלִי), a man of the sons of Israel (אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), or a man of the house of Israel (אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל), but never a son of Israel (בֶּן־יִשְׂרָאֵל). אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל is used only in one solitary verse of the Bible (Num. xxv. 8) to designate a single Israelite, everywhere else it signifies *the Israelites*, just as אִישׁ אֶפְרַיִם signifies *the Ephraimites*, and אִישׁ יְהוּדָה *the men of Judah*; אִישׁ thus corresponding, in prose, to the בֵּן of poetry. A man of Gibeon was a גִּבְעֹנִי; of Ashdod, an אַשְׁדּוּדִי; of Jezreel, a יִזְרְעֵאלִי; of Teman, a תִּמְנִי; of Gaza, an עֲזָתִי—just as a descendant of Eber was an אֶבְרִי; of Dan, a דָּנִי; or of Zerah, a זֶרַחִי. Derivatives from geographical names ending in ה, י, or ים, were often formed with considerable license. Thus we have from צִרְעָה both צִרְעָתִי and צִרְעִי; from תְּמָנָה, תְּמָנִי; from שִׁלָּה, שִׁלְיִי; from גִּלְגָּל, גִּלְגָּלִי; from מִדְּיָן, מִדְּיָנִי; and from חֲרָנִים, חֲרָנִי—just as פְּנִי, שְׁלָנִי, and בְּרִיעִי were patronymies of שְׁלָה, פָּוֶה, and בְּרִיעָה (Num. xxvi. 20, 23, 44). It was only in post-Biblical

times that the frequent irregularity of such formations led to the adoption of **איש**, **בן**, or **בר** as a substitute for the uncertain gentile termination. Thus we find in the Mishnah **איש צֶרְדָּה** (**הסוכני**), **איש יְרוּשָׁלַיִם** (**הצֶרְדִּיתִי**), **איש בְּרִתְהָא**, **איש יְבִנָּה**, and **איש בֵּית דָּלִי** (**‘Ābōth’** i. 3, 4, 5; iii. 7, iv. 4); **איש בֵּית הָאֱלִי** (**‘Y’bāmōth’** xvi. 7, for **בֵּית הָרָלִי**, like **בֵּית הָאֱלִי**, I. Kings xvi. 34), etc.; and in the Gemara, among many similarly formed compounds, **בן גַּמְלָא** (native of Gamala; see Neubauer, ‘La géographie du Talmud,’ p. 240), **בר קפרא** (see Neubauer, *l. c.*, p. 277), **איש גַּמְזוֹ** (facetiously turned into **אִישׁ גַּמְזוֹ**; cf. II. Chr. xxviii. 18, Neubauer, *l. c.*, p. 98, and J. Levy, ‘Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,’ s. v. **גַּמְזוֹ**), and **בני בתירה** and **בן בתירה** (natives of Bathyra; see Derenbourg, ‘Essai sur l’histoire et la géographie de la Palestine,’ vol. i. p. 179). **כוֹכְבָּא** is known as the Talmudical name of a place to both Neubauer (*l. c.*, p. 269) and Levy (*l. c.*, s. v.), and the former says, ‘Lieu natal de Dositaï . . . ; ce nom était très fréquent; on ne saurait dire quel *Kaukaba* le Talmud veut entendre.’ It is surprising that both these Talmudical critics have failed to perceive that a **כוֹכְבָּא**, perhaps one of the Kaukabas or Kaukabs described by modern travellers—Robinson knows several of them—was also the native place of the leader in the Jewish insurrection against Adrian, who is called by Christian writers Bar-Chochebas (see Schürer, ‘Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte,’ p. 357), and in the Talmud Bar-Chozeba. It was evidently in allusion to the meaning of the name of that place (star) that Rabbi Akiba applied to him the oracular words **דָּרַךְ כּוֹכֵב מֵעַקֵּב**,

a star breaks forth from Jacob (Num. xxiv. 17), in preference to so many other prophetic announcements of Israel's ordained deliverer. And when the champion failed in his rôle of Messiah, and perished, he was cruelly surnamed בֶּן-כוֹזֵבָא or בֶּר-כוֹזֵבָא, man of Chozeba (כוֹזֵבָא in I. Chr. iv. 22, כוֹזֵבָא or כוֹזֵבָה in the Talmud), a place whose name implied *deception*. The man of Cocheba, who had been hailed as the rising *star of Jacob*, became a man of Chozeba, a *deceiving son of Jacob* (כוֹזֵבָא מִיַּעֲקֹב), in his fall. (For the Talmudical references to him, see Levy, *l. c.*, s. v. כוֹזֵבָה, and Derenbourg, *l. c.*, p. 423 *et seq.*)

K.

(See p. 121.)

WITH כַּמְדָּבָר for כַּמְדָּבָר compare the closely preceding כִּיּוֹם הַגִּלְדָּה, which stands for כִּיּוֹם הַגִּלְדָּה. (Cf. also כַּמְדָּבָר, וְהַלְכִיתִּי הַמְדָּבָר, in verse 16 of the same chapter.) Elliptical comparisons are very frequent in Hebrew. See Ps. xcv. 8: אֵל תִּקְשׁוּ לִבְכֹּכְכֶם כַּמְרִיבָה [כַּמְרִיבָה]; Job. v. 14: כְּשֶׁלֶנוּ [כְּשֶׁלֶנוּ]; Is. lix. 10: כַּחַר [כַּחַר] פְּרָצִים; Is. xxviii. 21: בְּצַהֲרִים כְּנֶשֶׁף [כְּנֶשֶׁף]; Gen. xviii. 11: יָקִים יְהוָה כַּעֲמָק [כַּעֲמָק] בְּגִבְעוֹן יִרְגֹז; Ps. xcii. 11: הִדָּל לַחַיִּית לִשְׂרָה אֵרָה כְּנָשִׁים [כְּנָשִׁים]; Prov. xix. 12, and xx. 2: וְתִרְם כְּרָאִים [כְּרָאִים] קֶרֶנִּי; Job. xv. 33: כַּכְּסִיר [כַּכְּסִיר] כִּנְהָם; Is. lxiii. 2: בְּסֶרֶךְ וּשְׁלֶכֶךְ כֹּוִית [כִּנְצַח הַוִּית] נִצְחִי; Jer. iv. 31: וּבִגְדִי כְדָר [כְּבִגְדִי דָרָךְ] בִּגְדִי; II. Sam. xxii. 34 and Ps. xviii. 34: כְּאַלְלוֹת [כְּאַלְלוֹת] מִשׁוֹה רִגְלִי; Esth. iii. 8: עִם [מִדְתִּי כָל] עִם [כְּרִגְלִי אִילֹת];

Dan. i. 10: פְּנִיכֶם וְעַפִּים מִן [מִפְנֵי] הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר כְּגִילְכֶם;
 II. Chr. xviii. 12: יְהִי נָא דְבַרְךָ כְּאַחַד [כְּדֹבֵר אַחֵד] מֵהֶם;
 (cf. I. Kings xxii. 13); Eccl. vi. 5: נָחַת לֹוֶה מִזֶּה [מִנַּחַת זֶה];
 Prov. xxvi. 12: תִּקְוָה לְכַסִּיל מִמֶּנִּי [מִתְקוֹתָיו]; Gen. xix. 9:
 [מִלֵּהֶם] עָתָה נֵרַע לְךָ מֵהֶם. For similar expressions in
 Chaldee, see Dan. iv. 29, 30: יַעֲשֶׂבָא כְחֹרִין, ושְׁעֵרָה כְּנִשְׁרִין,
 and יַטְפְּרוּדִי כְצַפְרִין.

L.

(See p. 137.)

‘*Ālūqāh*, in Prov. xxx. 15, signifies neither a ‘leech’—that ‘has two daughters’—nor a ‘female blood-sucking monster,’ as some translate, nor any kind of animal or demon. As explained to the writer, in his childhood, by his revered father and teacher*—and as Arnheim, in Zunz’s Bible, has it—it is simply the name, whatever its linguistic value may be, of the author of the parable-like sayings which follow in the same chapter. These have—with two exceptions, which can be accounted for—a peculiar form, each grouping together four objects of a similar character. The opening phrases, in three groups, run thus (verses 18, 21, 29): ‘Three things are too wonderful for me, four I know not’ (= and a fourth I know not; see above, p. 63); ‘Under three things the earth trembles, under four it cannot bear up;’ ‘Three things are graceful in stepping, four graceful in walking.’ A fourth group is

* Born in Lublin, in 1801; deceased in Washington, January 30, 1863. His name is erroneously entered as Heilpern (P. M. or P.) in Fürst’s ‘*Bibliotheca Judaica*’ and in Zunz’s ‘*Die Monatstage des Kalenderjahres, ein Andenken an Hingeschiedene*,’ as well as in the Hebrew catalogues of the British Museum and of the Rosenthal Library.

introduced thus (verse 24): 'Four things there are. . . .' The first group is contained in verses 15 and 16, the text and common version of which (Conant's good phraseology is here chosen) are as follows:

לעלוקה ושתי בנות הב הב	The leech has two daughters, Give, Give.
שלוש הנה לא חשכענה	Three things there are that are not satisfied;
ארבע לא-אמרו הון	four say not, Enough!
שואל ועצר רחם	The underworld and the barren womb;
ארץ לא-שבעה מים	the earth, that is not satisfied with water,
ואש לא-אמרה הון	and fire, that says not, Enough!

Extraordinary efforts have been made, but in vain, to put sense into renderings like these, the fundamental error of which is the mistaking of 'ālūqāh for a common noun, and of 'oḡer for a derivative of 'āḡar in the sense of *closing*. Now la'ālūqāh (Masoretically thus, לעלוקה) stands here exactly at the head of this division of the chapter, after the proverbs of Agur, the son of Jakeh, as l'dāvid (לדוד), David's (or, by David), stands at the head of Ps. ciii., of Ps. cxxxviii., and of Ps. cxliv.; and 'oḡer, from 'aḡar in the sense of 'coercere imperio' (Gesenius), means *oppression* or *tyranny* ('Druck, Bedrückung'—Gesenius). (Cf. מעצר ומשפט, Is. liii. 8; מעצר רעה ויגון, Ps. cvii. 39; and also יורש עצר, Judg. xviii. 7.) עצר רחם, as meaning *closing of the womb*, or *barren womb*, is an erroneous combination, which Gen. xx. 18 easily explains—if רחם is not altogether a gloss

attached to the misunderstood עֶצֶר. Rightly explained, the two verses have a simple and poetically beautiful sense, and accord perfectly with all the other groups of four, as the following will show (in which בָּנוֹת, maidens, stands figuratively for persons, or objects; compare the feminine forms in verse 21):

לעלוקה ו	Aluqah's:
שתי בנות הב הב	Two maidens, Give-give;
שלוש הנה לא חשבונה	three there are, insatiable;
ארבע לא-אמרו הן	four, never saying, Enough:
שואל ועצר	Netherworld and tyranny;
מִן (קֶחֶם) ארץ לא-שבעה מים	(the bosom of) earth, insatiable of water;
ואש לא-אמרה הן	and fire, never saying, Enough.

Aluqah, it is true, is a name mentioned nowhere else, but such is also that of Agur, whose sayings precede Aluqah's. To judge by its feminine form—compare the names עֵוֹכָה, חֶלְרָה, קִצְיָעָה, יְמִימָה, רַבּוּרָה, צְרוּיָה, יְרוּשָׁה, etc.—it ought to be the name of a woman, and it is but a legitimate conjecture to identify the writer of the fine sayings before us with King Lemuel's mother, whose poetic words of instruction follow immediately in the collection. The concluding part of verse 19 is not unworthy of a didactic poetess, for it refers to the mysterious transit (דָּרֵךְ) of *embryonic* man, a transit both wonderful and traceless, like the flight of the eagle between the clouds, the gliding of a serpent over rocks, or a ship's advance through the heart of the sea. That verse 20 is a spurious addition, as has been conjectured by Dathe, is evident; and just as clearly does verse 17 (עֵין חֲלֹעַג לֹאֵב, etc.) belong to Agur's piece beginning with

verse 11 (רור אביו יקלל), while יד לפה in verse 32 points to a connection between it and verses 8 and 9 of the following chapter, both of which open with פתח פִּיךָ.

M.

(See p. 137.)

HOSEA's arraignment of the priests was, in its tenor and language, before Isaiah's mind—whether he was conscious of it or not—when he composed what is now the latter part of his first chapter. Isaiah, having used (i. 10) the opening call, 'Hear Jehovah's word,' says (18), "'Come on, let us argue," says Jehovah.' Hosea begins (iv. 1), 'Hear Jehovah's word, ye sons of Israel; for Jehovah has a controversy with the dwellers in the land.' Isaiah's וְנִכְחָה (18) corresponds to Hosea's וְאֵל יוֹכֵה (4). Isaiah's mournful exclamation (21) on contemplating the moral fall of Judah's capital: 'How has she become a harlot (הִיטָה לְזוֹנָה), the faithful city!' alludes to Hosea's (15) 'If thou practisest whoredom (וּזְנָה אֶתָּה), O Israel, let not Judah become guilty.' Isaiah says (22), 'Thy drink (סִבְאֵךְ) is diluted with water:' Hosea (18), 'Their drink (סִבְאֵם) is rank.' Isaiah says (19), 'Thy rulers are unruly (שִׁרְיֹךְ סוֹרְרִים)': Hosea (16), 'Like an unbroken heifer (פֶּרָה כֹּהֶרֶה) has Israel become intractable (סִרְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).' Isaiah adds (18), 'And associates of thieves (חֲבֵרֵי גַנָּבִים),' which is an imitation of Hosea's 'wound up with idols' (חֲבוּר עֲצָבִים, 17). Isaiah says (18), 'Each of them loves bribes (אֹהֵב שֹׁחַד):' Hosea (18), 'They love "O give (אֶהְבֵּוּ הָבוּ)." ' Isaiah predicts (29, 30) that the people will blush (יִכְשׂוּ) for the large trees (אֵילָה, אֵילִים) and the gardens (הַגִּנוֹת) which they like so much: he evidently

speaks of the shady sacrificial places, contaminated by lascivious practices, of which Hosea says, 'They sacrifice . . . under oak (אלון) and poplar and terebinth (אֵלָה), the shade of which is pleasant' (13), 'They shall blush (יבשו) for their sacrifices' (19), and—as Isaiah read the words (18)—'Shame for its gardens (קלון מִגִּנֵּיהָ)!' A later prophet's expressions, המחקרשים and זבחים בגנות, אל הגנות, etc. (Is. lxx. 3, lxxi. 17), remind us of Isaiah's ועם הקרשות יזכרו (i. 29) as well as of Hosea's ויבשו מזבחם (iv. 14) and ויבשו (iv. 19).

N.

(See p. 144.)

Sh'būth and *sh'bith* are thus explained after Gesenius by the last editors of his Lexicon, Mühlau and Volek: 'Gefangenschaft [from שבה] 4 M. 21, 29 . . . , und *concr.* die Gefangenen (eines Volkes), שוב ושוב sie zurückführen 5 M. 30, 3, . . . dann bildlich von der Herstellung des Glückes und Wohlstandes Hi. 42, 10: שוב ויחיה ויחיה שוב את-שבות איוב und Jahve stellte den Wohlstand Hiobs wieder her.' They add, however: 'Freilich lassen sich שבות and שְׁבִית als *st. cstr.* (nur dieser kommt vor, mit Ausnahme von 4 M. 21, 29 . . .) auch von einem *st. absol.* שְׁבִית, שְׁבִית ableiten und auf שוב . . . zurückführen, wofür zunächst spricht, dass שְׁבִית und שְׁבִית ausschliesslich in der Phrase שוב ושוב שְׁבִית (vgl. רִיב וְרִיב פ' נָקַם וְנָקַם פ' רִיב וְרִיב פ' u. a.), welche dann zu übers. ist: *Wendung wenden* (so Ewald . . .) oder besser: *Herstellung herstellen* (s. bes. Böttcher . . .), wie schon Symm. Hi. 42, 10: ἐπέστρεψε τὴν ἀναστροφὴν τοῦ Ἰώβ—eine Phrase, welche insbes. von der (schliess-

lichen) Herstellung des aus dem Exil zurückgeführten Volkes Israël gebraucht wird.' In the one form or the other—and the Masorites have often changed each—the word occurs in Scripture thirty-one times; the phrase, in every instance but one (Job. xlii. 10), refers to the restoration of a people, and in almost all instances to restoration after a national catastrophe—total overthrow or captivity. Only in the solitary sentence in which it is found in the *st. absol.* and unconnected with the verb שׁוּב (Num. xxi. 29), the word positively means *captivity*, or *capture*, but there it stands perhaps, by mistake, for שְׁבִיָּה, capture, which is given in Jer. xlviii. 46, a paraphrase of that sentence. (שְׁבִיָּה, on the other hand, ought probably to be read for שִׁיבָה—which elsewhere does not mean *return*—in Ps. cxxvi. 1; cf. verse 4.) And it would be hard to decide whether for שׁוּב שְׁבִיָּה or שִׁיבָה שְׁבִיָּה the more applicable rendering, in the majority of cases, would be *to turn the captivity (to bring back the captives)* or *to bring back the prosperity (to bring a turn, to bring a restoration)*. Neither is it certain that שְׁבִיָּה and שִׁיבָה are not to be taken as distinct words—though not exactly as the Masorites distinguished them—שְׁבִיָּה, from שָׁבָה, meaning *captivity*, and שִׁיבָה, from שׁוּב, a *turn* or *restoration*. What is patent, however, is that the phrase, whether meaning *restoration from captivity*, or *restoration to prosperity*, public or individual, is of late date—that is, a phrase made familiar by the frequent talk of Israel's national restoration from captivity, just as the words *revolution* and *restoration* have in modern times become popular in the figurative sense through the historical revolutions and restorations in England and France. The phrase

occurs once in the Pentateuch (Deut. xxx. 3), in a verse referring to the dispersion of Israel through all the nations, and written at the earliest in the time of Josiah, a century after the beginning of the Assyrian captivity; twice in Zephaniah (ii. 7, iii. 20), whose first chapter was composed under Josiah; eleven times in Jeremiah: twice in prophecies of uncertain but apparently late date (xlviii. 47, xlix. 6), and nine times in prophecies uttered after the carrying off of Jeconiah into Babylonian captivity (xxix. 14, xxx. 3, xxx. 18, xxxi. 23, xxxii. 44, xxxiii. 7, xxxiii. 11, xxxiii. 26, xlix. 39); three times in Ezekiel, who prophesied after that event (xxix. 14, xxxix. 25, and xvi. 53, where **ושבותך ושבות שביתך** is a corruption of **ושבותך ושבות** **בנייתך**, as the context, including verse 55, shows); once in Lamentations (ii. 14), which bewails a later catastrophe; once in Job (*l. c.*), probably also a product of the Chaldean period; and four times in psalms praying for restoration which is to spring from Zion (Ps. xiv. 7, liii. 7) and for the revival of Israel (lxxxv. 2, cxxvi. 4). The only verses in all the Bible in which the phrase appears as written before the Assyrian captivity are Am. ix. 14 and Hos. vi. 11, but it has been shown above (pp. 102, 103, 144) that the former belongs to a spurious piece, and that the latter is probably incorrect.

O.

(See p. 151.)

EWALD reads, instead of **בְּאֶשֶׁר רִאִיתִי**, **בְּאֶשֶׁר רִאִיתִי**, and, identifying **אֶשֶׁר** with **אֶשְׁרָה**, which he renders by *Hain*, grove, he translates here, ‘Efráim gleicht mir lusthainen von Tyriern in einer aue gepflanzt.’ But that rendering of **אֶשְׁרָה**, pl. **אֶשְׁרִים** and **אֶשְׁרוֹת**, is impugned by I. Kings

xiv. 23, II. Kings xvii. 10, Jer. xvii. 2, Deut. xvi. 21, and Judg. vi. 25, according to which אַשְׁרוֹת were erected *under* and *by trees*, and *on* or *by altars*. They are, therefore, explained by other expounders as signifying symbolic images of the goddess of happiness (Astarte), shaped like trees. Such an אֶשֶׁר Hosea would surely not have introduced here. It is, therefore, plainer either to read בְּאֶשֶׁל, like a tamarisk, or more or less closely to identify the אֶשֶׁר before us (perhaps to be read אֶשֶׁר) with the תְּאֶשִׁיר of Is. xli. 19, lx. 13, and Ezek. xxvii. 6 (where בְּתֵאשִׁירִים evidently stands for בְּתֵאשֶׁשִׁירִים, as the Targum and Rashi understood it), a tree of Lebanon and the eastern islands of the Mediterranean, the name of which is derived from אֶשֶׁר (like תְּבִלָּל from בָּלָל), in reference to tallness and straightness. That a tree is meant is apparent from the following שְׁתוּלָה and הֶקֶה אֶפְרַיִם שְׂרָשֻׁם יִבֵּשׁ, etc. (Cf. also verse 10: כַּעֲנָבִים כַּמְדָּבָר מִצֵּאתִי יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּנְּכוּרָה בְּתֵאנָה בְּכֹכְרָה . . . רֵאִיתִי, in which רֵאִיתִי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם corresponds to כַּאֲשֶׁר רֵאִיתִי, as explained.)

P.

(See p. 154.)

THE following, too, is derived from 'oral information obtained many years ago from a Hebraist of Warsaw' (see vol. i. p. 237)—pleasantly remembered by the writer as Abraham Moses (without the surname), a friend of the mathematician Abraham Stern and the astronomer Słomkowski:

Alvah (עֲלוּה) was an Edomite district, ruled by one of those dukes of Esau who are recorded by the names of their localities (לְמִקְמָתָם בְּשִׁמְחָם), thus: duke of Teman

(the South), duke of Mibzar (the Fortress; Gen. xxxvi. 40, 42, I. Chr. i. 51, 53). This district corresponds to the tribe of Alvan, which, like Manahath, was descended from the Horite Shobal (בני שובל עלון ומנחת; Gen. xxxvi. 23, I. Chr. i. 40). Manahath was also the name of a place in Benjamin, near Geba (*cf.* אל-מנחת גבע ויגלום; I. Chr. viii. 6), a town adjoining Gibeah. This Manahath is identical with מנחה, whither the Benjamites, after their terrible defeat, were pursued by their victors. (Judg. xx. 43: מנחה הרריקחו עד נכח הגבעה.) At the time of that internecine contest various towns in Benjamin were inhabited by non-Hebrew tribes; for we read that the Levite whose journey through that canton was the innocent cause of the war, said to the young man who accompanied him, 'We will not turn into a city of strangers, one of those that are not of the children of Israel (אשר לא-מבני ישראל הנה); but we will pass over to Gibeah.' Among these non-Hebrews were Horites, probably kindred to both Alvan and Manahath, and the founders of Manahath among other neighboring places, to whom Hosea (x. 9, 10) alludes, remarking, that the double sin of Gibeah, which caused the almost total extermination of the Benjamites, so strengthened the foreigners around that city that the Benjamite remnants had to defend themselves against them: 'Had they (the Benjamites) remained there, no war would have befallen them, at Gibeah, with the sons of Alvah' (בני עלוה); but the Benjamites sinned and bled, 'and tribes (עמים) gathered against them.'

Q.

(See p. 155.)

NEITHER Shalman nor Beth-Arbel is mentioned anywhere else in Scripture. There was, however, an Arbela in Galilee, mentioned in the first book of Maccabees and in Josephus, and another east of the Jordan, known to Eusebius and Jerome, besides the Arbela of Assyria, made famous by the victory of Alexander the Great over Darius; and each of these three places might possibly be the Beth-Arbel of Hosea, while Shalman might be deemed an abridged form of Shalmaneser. Of the Assyrian conquerors of that name, the one who warred against the last king of Israel is too late a ruler to be considered here (see above, p. 130 and elsewhere), and before him only one made an expedition—against Damascus, about 773 B.C.—in the course of which one of the Palestinian Arbelas (the eastern) may have been stormed and sacked; while a sacking of the Assyrian Arbela, a fact nowhere alluded to in the inscriptions, and for which no motive is historically apparent, would have been too remote an event to be incidentally spoken of by an Israelitish prophet, as familiar to his hearers or readers. Thus, if Shalman stands for Shalmaneser, no other Assyrian king but the Shalmaneser who reigned between 780 and 770 can be meant. There is, however, a Salaman mentioned in the Assyrian records with whom, as has been pointed out by Schrader (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 283, 284), the Shalman of the prophet can be more plainly identified. Salaman is enumerated among many other princes tributary to Tiglath-Pileser, as king of Moab. He was

thus a (probably younger) contemporary of Hosea. This Salaman may in his earlier years, during the confusion which reigned in the kingdom of Israel after the fall of the house of Jehu, have ravaged the Israelitish territories bordering on Moab, and, in a 'day of battle,' ravaged Beth-Arbel, the Transjordanic Arbela. This conjecture removes a part of the argument on which Graetz ('Geschichte der Juden,' vol. i. part i. pp. 99, 100) bases his substitution of כשר שלמן בית ארבאל for כשר שלום בית ירבעם, a rather violent alteration, which is, however, not without support. He says: 'Für den dunklen Vers, Hosea 10, 14, וכל מבצריך יושד כשר שלמן בית ארבאל ביום מלחמה אם על בנים רטשה hat die griechische Uebersetzung etwas anderes, woraus hervorgeht, dass sie eine andere L.-A. vor sich hatte: ὡς ἄρχων Σαλαμὰν ἐκ τοῦ οἴου Ἱεροβοάμ. Eine Variante hat Ἱεροβαάλ statt Ἱεροβοάμ, was gewiss ein Fehler ist. Diese L.-A. ist alt, Hieronymus kannte sie schon, wenn er sie auch, als nicht in seinen Kram passend, verwarf. So viel geht aus dieser Uebersetzung hervor, dass sie den Eigennamen שלמן nicht von einem assyrischen König, noch בית ארבאל von einem Ortsnamen verstanden hat. Aehnlich lautet die syrische Uebersetzung: נתבוען איך בותא דשלמא מן. בית איל ביומא דקרבא. Auch diese hatte nicht die L.-A. שלמן vor sich, sondern שלום. Auch die chaldäische Version las שלום. Ohnehin ist es bedenklich anzunehmen, dass Hosea von dem Wüthen eines assyrischen Königs in Arbela in der Tigrisgegend gesprochen haben soll. . . . Zudem kommt noch, dass ein König Namens Salman in der assyrischen Geschichte gar nicht untergebracht werden kann. Man müsste ihn denn als Abkürzung von Sal-

manassar nehmen, was durchaus gezwungen ist. Die richtige Erklärung drängt sich auf, wenn man שלום und בית ארבעל liest statt בית ארבעל: "So wie Schallum in dem Hause Jerobeams II. wüthete, Mütter und Kinder wurden zerschmettert." Dieses Gleichniss war verständlich, es spielte auf eine Thatsache an, welche dem Volke noch im Gedächtnisse war. Dass שר auch "wüthen" bedeutet, braucht nicht bewiesen zu werden.' This remark is correct, but the comparison, thus forced upon the text, of wasted *fortresses* with the extermination of a royal *family* is a very lame one. Nor are the readings of the ancient versions of much value for a reconstruction of the text, for they contradict each other, the Greek substituting ירבעם or ארבעל for ארבעל, the Syriac rendering the latter half of this word (אל), and the Chaldee the first (by אֲרָבָה, the equivalent of אָרֶב, ambush)—and the latter two thus collectively confirming the reading ארבעל, against the Septuagint, which blundered also in reading שר (= ἄρχων) for שר, and altogether mistranslated the sentence. On the other hand, there seems to be strong support for Schrader's view in the phraseology of Hosea in the verse before us and the one immediately following. If we compare these with the opening verse of the ancient elegy on Moab which Isaiah reproduced and supplemented (Is. xv., xvi.; see above, p. 46 *et seq.*), it becomes highly probable that Hosea had it before him when speaking of the ravages of Shalman at Beth-Arbel. Is. xv. 1 has twice שָׁרַר and twice נִדְמָה נִדְמָה: Hosea has here וַיִּשָּׂר בָּשָׂר and נִדְמָה נִדְמָה; there we read of destruction in the night (בַּלַּיִל): here, of destruction at dawn (בַּשָּׁחַר); there we read of the desola-

tion of the fortresses of Moab, Ar-Moab and Kir-Moab: here, of that of the fortresses of Israel. And the supposition is natural that it was not an accidental reminiscence which made Hosea repeat the words of an older prophet, but some reflection connecting them with the terrible events which he depicted. The identification of Shalman, the destroyer of Beth-Arbel, with Salaman of Moab reveals that reflection: Owing to the sins of the Israelites, that which was formerly done by them to the cities of Moab is now done to the cities of Israel by the Moabites; the destruction is as sudden, as complete, and as merciless.

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